THE HISTORY OF
PRESTON NORTH END FOOTBALL CLUB

THE POWER, THE POLITICS AND THE PEOPLE

BY DAVID HUNT

Nationwide
BAXI
CAP

PRESTON NORTH END FC

A PNE PUBLICATION

THE HISTORY OF

PRESTON NORTH END FOOTBALL CLUB

THE POWER, THE POLITICS AND THE PEOPLE

BY DAVID HUNT

"Lance Corporal J. Ross has been awarded the Military Medal for gallantry in France. Son of the late N. J. Ross, the famous North Ender, he belongs to the Seaforth Highlanders and his home is at 17 James Street, Preston."

Lancashire Daily Post, Saturday, September 8th, 1917.

This book is dedicated to the friends of North End who lost their lives in the wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45.

PRESTON PLAYERS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS LAY WREATHS AT THE CENOTAPH, 1922. (MISS WOODHOUSE)

First published in 2000 by
PNE Publications, an imprint of
Preston North End plc, Deepdale, Preston,
Lancashire PR1 6RU.

Written by > **David Hunt.**

Copyright © > **David Hunt.**

Photography > Courtesy of **David Hunt,**
Preston North End, Action Images,
The Lancashire Evening Post
and **The National Football Museum.**

Printed > **Frank Peters Limited, Kendal.**

ISBN > **1 901966 04 6.**

CONTENTS

Foreword and Introduction 01-21

1 The Reasoning, God-Fearing Men of the PNECC 22-39

2 The Rising Sun 40-59

3 The Champion Club of the World 60-79

4 I Fear the Club will have to Break-up 80-99

5 The Great War 100-119

6 Alec James and the Roaring Twenties 120-141

7 The Age of the Dictators 142-159

8 The Best Team in Great Britain 160-179

9 The Glory of Finney 180-199

10 The Boys of '64 200-219

11 Once Proud Preston 220-239

12 Battling Through the 1980's 240-259

13 The New North End? 260-283

Researching North End and Footnotes 284-303

PREFACE

I must declare an interest: I am a Preston North End supporter. I am also interested in social history and in business history. This book combines all these interests in a lively account of the history and development of one of the twelve founder members of the world's first Football League.

I cannot think of anyone better qualified than David Hunt to write this book. He is a Prestonian, a North Ender and an historian. He is also fanatical, as all football supporters are. (The word 'fan' is derived from fanatical which itself is derived from a Latin word meaning 'belonging to a temple, hence, inspired by god, frenzied.') Combine these qualities with a good dose of enthusiasm and the result is 'North Enders'.

Above all things, this book demonstrates that it is the people involved in the story who shaped and moulded Preston North End. Today it is the players who are the stars, but in the early days it was the directors and managers. Through these pages some of the great characters of the past come to life. If I had read this book before coming chairman I might have thought twice before joining the ranks of such illustrious predecessors. During its history the Club has been at the very top of the English Football League and also at the very bottom, narrowly avoiding dropping out altogether. It has won all the major trophies and created many records and 'firsts'. I hope this roller-coaster ride has now ended and Preston North End can return from the wilderness it inhabited in the 1980's through to the mid 1990's back to the top reaches of the Football League.

All of us have joined the journey following the North End at different times. For some it was preordained before birth that they would become followers, being born into North End families (as was David Hunt). Others, like myself came late in life. Some fans have experienced the highs and the 'lows'. At whatever stage you have joined the journey, or even if you are an interested reader, but not a 'fanatic', I am sure you will enjoy this book and this story. This is our story, for whatever part we play, if you have ever watched the North End, then you are part of the history of this great and proud Football Club.

Bryan Gray

Bryan Gray, Chairman, Preston North End Football Club

FOREWORD & INTRODUCTION

"Preston is a fine town and tolerably full of people ...The people are very gay here though not perhaps the richer for that, but it has by that obtained the name of Proud Preston."

Daniel Defoe 1725, A Tour through England and Wales.

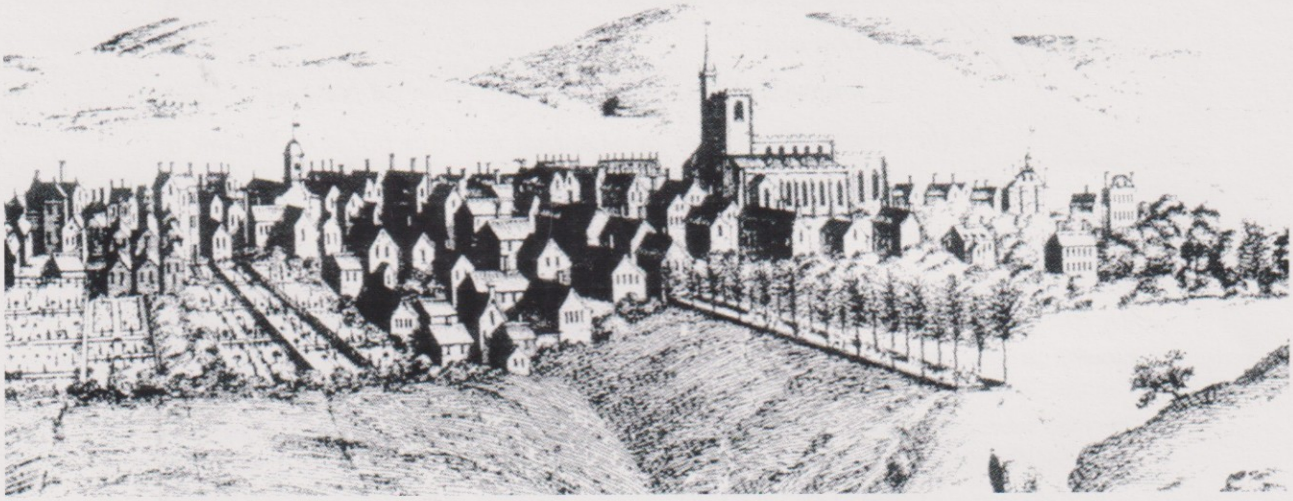
"Next day come also the Footmen into Preston where the same proclamation was made here as in former towns. They also received what excise was due here. The Scotchmen wore their blue and white cockades... Night now approaching, General Will's men camped round this town, and also burnt severall houses and barriers at the North End of it."

A Journall of Severall Occurances from 2d November 1715,
In the Insurrection begun in Scotland, and concluded at Preston in
Lancashire kept by Peter Clarke. The entry for 10-12 November 1715.

You can tell that Preston is a footballing town from the chimneys. The mill operatives took to the beautiful game that had been brought to them by East Lancashire missioners with flair and panache. The most successful of their favourite teams, the North End, or Preston North End to outsiders and southerners, rapidly emerged as the first power in the professional game. The club has produced a long series of gifted players and has achieved footballing glory far beyond the realistic expectations of a town of such modest size. From their early introduction to the Scottish passing game, generations of the world-wide web of North Enders have had a high appreciation of the finer points of the game. It is surely no coincidence that the club has been served by four of our greatest players: Jack Ross, Alec James, Sir Tom Finney and Sir Bobby Charlton. Throughout the 1950's, North End were rightly considered one of Europe's leading footballing sides, and perhaps only at Deepdale could Tom Finney have emerged as quite the player he was. The club need have no inferiority complex, for it has ably demonstrated that a small town can compete with bigger city rivals, given strong management and dictatorial chairmen of the mark of William Sudell and James I. Taylor. Introducing their wares, the historians of football clubs usually begin by boosting the attainments of their side. This may strengthen the reader's resolve to push on a bit further into the text, but with North End this would be little more than a statement of the obvious. For is it not reliably reported by Pie Munchers best qualified to judge these things that the premier meat & potato pie, produced in North America (by 'Preston Pies' of St. Catherine's, Ontario), is known as the 'Deepdale Pie'?

I find to my horror that I was born on only the 66th anniversary of North End winning the FA Cup and completing the 'double' in 1889. My life may have been a happier one if I had not been a North Ender, but without the subconscious fear that everything in life is about to go horribly wrong, it would certainly have been a duller one. Nothing could prepare a youngster for a life of constant set-backs like a North End upbringing in the sixties and seventies, though friends tell me that their Burnley, Blackburn and Blackpool experiences come very close. Our house long maintained the orthodoxy that it was indecent to speak on a Saturday evening if North End had lost. Throughout my travels as a student, the Football Post found me every week without fail. There was no escape from the bad news, even in the most remote parts. One copy found me addressed, 'D. Hunt, Archaeology dig, Somewhere in the Orkney Islands'. Like most football supporters I had no choice in the matter of which team to support; I had simply inherited the PNE variant of the Y chromosome. The players can escape, their lives can move on, but the North Ender is trapped, fixed for ever like a fly in amber. It could have been worse, and some day it may be treatable, but the scars will still remain.

The scheme to write a new history of the club taking an overall view of its various components and setting them in the context of the town's modern history was suggested by Bryan Gray in the autumn of 1997. Many people have contributed their ideas and given freely of their time. From the start of the project I had the pleasure of working with Rob Pratten, researcher and subsequently



The South prospect of Preston, In the County Palatine of Lancaster, engraving by S & N Buck 1728.

Since Saxon times Preston has been the principal market for the produce of Mid-Lancashire. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it enjoyed the reputation of being a genteel, fashionable place, with plentiful sports and amusements for the local gentry. The industrial town developed a quite different society based on long hours of toil in the mills, and the steady improvement of working conditions provided fertile ground for the emergence of football as a mass sport.

curator of the National Football Museum. This book has emerged out of our fairly continuous discussions. He kindly made available the documentary records of the club, suggested ways around the many difficulties we encountered and assisted in the day-to-day research in lots of ways. He was encouraging at all times and persuaded me on a number of occasions not to give up. As the museum slowly grew, new members of staff were also helpful and supportive. In the later stages John Booth and the staff at Deepdale assisted in many ways. All credit for the final appearance of the book is due to them.

I am most grateful to the sports editor of the Lancashire Evening Post for allowing me access to the back copies of the 'Daily' and 'Evening' Post, and particularly to Lisa Mault and Louise Turner in the paper's library. The staffs of the Football League, Lancashire Football Association, Harris Reference Library, Bolton Reference Library and Blackburn Reference Library were extremely helpful, and as ever I am grateful for the assistance of Robert Rushton and the staff of Leyland Library. Aidan Turner-Bishop at the University of Central Lancashire helped in many ways, and through his contacts with the South African Library in Cape Town, brought to light the story of William Sudell's happy ending. The staffs of the Lancashire Football Association, and the Football League assisted in many ways. Much of the early research was undertaken with the help of the staff of the Lancashire Record Office in Bow Lane, Preston. Their reward is the discovery that, for inspiration, they may now gaze out of their building at North End's birthplace across the road. Particular thanks are due to the local studies staff of the Lancashire County Library Service, formerly of Corporation Street, Preston, but now based in the Lancashire Record Office, who tolerated my almost daily presence for over twelve months.

For obvious reasons a number of helpers felt it better that they were not identified too closely. 'South Shore Jim' and our old friend 'Brownedge Terry' will understand. Similarly, a closet Millwall shareholder working at the very heart of the Lancashire local history establishment gave very considerable assistance to the project. Advice from North Enders has been received in some out-of-the-way places. In Sicily I was given a full account of David Moyes's career by a couple on a special mission to buy Mafia wine for a party in Fulwood, and the implications of the ending of the maximum wage were explained to me while visiting a 'silent' monastery on a mountain in Cyprus. Between Luxor and Aswan on the Nile, I discussed the Finney-Matthews controversy continuously for three days with a party of Seasiders. The great debate ended only when all participants were struck down by a sudden malady. I remain most grateful to the lady from St. Annes who prescribed large quantities of tonic-water diluted by another drink. A well known Longton dentist took the time to explain the basis of the team's medical history while drilling my teeth. Others have not been so helpful. When I asked the tour guide in Malta where I might find the Valletta North Enders he told me to try the Police courts and then pretended not to be able to understand English.

Meeting a number of the people intimately associated with the club was the most memorable aspect of the study. I am most grateful for the assistance of Gordon Milne, Sir Tom Finney, George Ross and Alex Bruce, and of Alan Jones, Keith Leeming and Bryan Gray. The final chapter owes a great deal to Ben Casey, Laurence King, David Robinson and Tony Scholes. David Russell and Gavin Mellor of the University of Central Lancashire assisted in many ways. Among the 'usual suspects' I am once again most grateful for the help of Alan Crosby, Chris Aspin, Robert Harrison, William Waring, Jack Rice, Howard Hammersley and Sylvia Birtles. Specific contributors are acknowledged in the text. My wife Anne, formerly an unreconstructed Beckite of the old school, but now a lucid advocate of the Scottish passing game, assisted in many ways, and the final text owes much to the attentions of herself and Messrs Waring and Aspin. Finally special thanks are due to Cath Rees, whose assistance made this book possible.

David Hunt, Longton, November 2000.

THE FOURTH ESTATE: PERSEUS, VIATOR AND GARY HICKSON.COM

Throughout North End's history the media have been the central factor in projecting the club's image and in fostering the relationship between the club and its supporters. From 1880 the great hunger for football news was fed by the growth of detailed press coverage. In Preston this developed from the supportive, but rather paternalistic remarks, of the Preston Chronicle into a major branch of the local fourth estate. The Lancashire Evening Post had introduced a Football Edition by the start of the 1886 season. The local newspapers - the Preston Pilot, Preston Herald, Preston Chronicle, and Preston Guardian - each occupied a distinct class or political niche, but in the 1880's were gradually superseded by the Lancashire Daily Post and its occasional Evening variant. The paper's owners, the Toulmin family, became large shareholders in the club and were prominent in organising the Marston Fund in the early 1950's, which was thoughtfully set up to collect contributions to pay for a visit home to Australia by Joe Marston and his family. In 1930, the holding of 450 shares was transferred to Provincial Newspapers, and later to United Newspapers. From the outset William Sudell appreciated the importance of a 'good press', and it is significant that attempts to establish positive media coverage have been central to each of the club's subsequent revivals.

Though the North End board of directors consented to the filming of games at Deepdale at least as early as 1903, and Preston took part in the first Cup Final to be televised, they proved very suspicious of radio and television. The coming of local radio in the early 1970's opened up new possibilities, and the voice of local correspondent Norman Shakeshaft soon became a feature of Saturday afternoons on Radio Blackburn, Radio Lancashire's predecessor. Many will still find his usual opening remark of 'It's Bad News For Preston Fans...' unsettling. Local radio allowed a much greater degree of interaction between the club and its supporters, and has now developed into something of an institution in the post match 'phone-in' hosted by Mr. Gary Hickson. The increasing importance of this medium was especially apparent during the crisis of confidence in the board of March 1992, when directors opted to answer supporters' questions in a specially organised phone-in rather than at a public meeting. The development of an official club web-site and related media, offers the opportunity of an even closer relationship with supporters.

It says much for the journalistic standards of the Lancashire Daily Post that it developed football correspondents of such an extremely high standard. Principal among them were Arthur Brierley ('Perseus'), and Walter Pilkington ('Viator'). The pair occupied the office of sports editor from 1908 to 1967, so that their work spans a large part of North End's progress through the twentieth century and is an important record of the club's history. Though their coverage could appear satisfactorily deferential to the board, their authoritative sporting status meant that any criticism - no matter how veiled or coded - could be devastating. Both fell foul of the directors from time to time. In later years press coverage developed a much more aggressive stance, and the Evening Post became embroiled in the club's internal politics. Searching out the source of leaks from the boardroom became a particular occupation of Alan Jones in the 1970's, and one prominent reporter always took care to walk home after a night in the Supporters' Club. In the event of any drink-driving lapse, one of the directors was eager to report him - to the Police!

J. Arthur Brierley, alias 'JAB' and 'Perseus', became sports editor at the Lancashire Daily Post in 1908, a period when the quality of reporting was at its height. His career with the paper had probably begun in 1894, the year in which he saw his first Cup Final in a 'cup run' which was to include all the pre-war Finals. His weekly column, 'From My Notebook', was later superseded by 'A Sports Causerie', which was continued long after his retirement as sports editor in 1930. Indeed the 1930's was 'Perseus's' heyday. The club's progress

The TOM FINNEY Testimonial Fund
TOM
NO WAITING THIS SIDE TODAY

THE OFFICES OF THE LANCASHIRE EVENING POST, FISHERGATE, PRESTON, 1960.
FROM THE OUTSET THE PRESTON PRESS WAS THE PRINCIPAL MEANS OF FORMING OPINION AMONG THE CLUB'S SUPPORTERS. THE BATTLE FOR HEARTS AND MINDS REACHED AN INTENSE LEVEL IN THE YEARS BEFORE THE GREAT WAR.

during these years fulfilled his hopes for 'North End Football' first espoused in the years 1909-12 as a basis for a progressive policy. During World War I he took a strongly patriotic line, urging North Enders to enlist, but was later appalled when Deepdale was occupied by the military in World War II.

Walter Pilkington recalled a kindly man, who had a fatherly attitude to his junior staff, and who worked to the highest standards: **He had no use for pretence, detested anything slack and shoddy, and practised what he preached. He was supreme at his craft; self taught, but diligent, determined and undeterred by any obstacle ...He endowed himself with a vocabulary of Churchillian dimensions.(1)**

Neville Cardus presented a rather different image: **A sterling and honest craftsman, he was rather a fierce-looking man, hinting at a high blood-pressure, and he wore a belligerent moustache. He flew into tempers on very slight provocation. (2)**

'Perseus' developed a deep interest in the history of the club, as the following pages will demonstrate, but his greatest contribution to the history of the game came with the publication of the jubilee history of the Football League in 1938: **My part in it (recalled Fred Howarth, secretary of the Football League) was arduous but simple, merely the collation of a mass of material. Arthur Brierley was chosen to write the story, itself the greatest compliment to his reputation. In six weeks he returned the material with his completed manuscript. With the help of his splendid memory, he had produced an absorbing and faultless narrative with the skill of the artist he was.** He had long planned that his assistant Walter Pilkington should succeed him. Both were ardent cricket lovers and covered the game during the summer. After he had retired as editor, the two continued to work together for a further twenty years. Brierley continued to provide his weekly 'Notes', and at the time of his death in September 1951, he was working on a history of Lancashire cricket.

Walter Pilkington began work as a copy boy with the paper in 1915 and took over as sports editor from Brierley in 1930. A contemporary and friend of Neville Cardus, he edited the Football Post for 37 years until his retirement in 1967. According to John Taylor (the post-war 'Ajax'), he disliked the attention the modern game heaps on the players. His inflexible priorities were (1) the game, (2) the club, and (3) the player. Even the great Finney was not above his criticism, and on one famous occasion Pilkington blazed, 'You are holding on to the ball too long and thereby delaying quick advances of the North End forward line'. He was extremely methodical and built up a detailed archive of cuttings and related materials: **His office was stacked with newspapers. I used to tell him it was unhygienic. 'Everyone of them has a purpose', was his terse reply. His record books, containing players' appearances, results, scorers etc, of all clubs in the four League Divisions, were immaculately kept and would have graced the shelves of Somerset House. If Alec James coughed at Deepdale at 3-21pm it was so recorded.**(3)

A largely self-educated man, the son of an art dealer in Church Street, Preston, Pilkington had a great love of music, books and paintings, though his first love was probably cricket. He was never reconciled to the more materialistic game that emerged from the ending of the maximum wage: **'Punch ups, increasing on-field offences, matches played in nerve-fraying tension ...there was nothing like that before Jimmy Hill of the players' union, prised open the lid of football's Pandora's Box and let out all its present troubles'.** Like Brierley his knowledge of the game and the North End club was immense. It was estimated that since 1912 he had seen some 2,330 matches, writing 1,740 North End match reports, and a further 147 cup ties. He had seen 101 test matches, reporting on 77 of them, and 82 football internationals. He was proud to have seen and reported all but seven of Tom Finney's 48 internationals played in the British Isles. In an affectionate tribute in February 1979, following his death, colleague John Taylor, remarked that on being asked for his name by St. Peter at The Gates, his reply might be, 'I am very surprised you have not kept your records efficiently up here!'

In 1964, Cyril Heywood looked back to the 1938 Cup Final and provided a graphic account of the Lancashire Daily Post's team as it sent the news back to Preston. Having completed his pre-match report, Heywood was able to observe the busy scene: **No teleprinters in those days; assuredly no photographs by wire. It was a straightforward dictation to a fast typist at Preston - Mrs Rose Singleton. ...With Bill Furnival, who was picking up ideas for his Monday cartoon beside me, and with Walter Pilkington doing his non-stop telephonic talking marathon from 20 minutes before the start to the last second of extra time, and Arthur Brierley assiduously scribbling away at his comments further along the line, I sat back and enjoyed the game.**(4)

A PONDEROUS VOLUME: THE HISTORY OF THE NORTH END FC

The Victorians' passion for sport was matched only by their love for rank, class and pedigree. So that even the sporting pastimes of working men in the barbaric north quickly acquired a veneer of antique respectability. Major Marindin, President of the Football Association and the nemesis of William Sudell and the old North End club, always took pains to make some reference to the 'grand old cup', as he handed it over to the winning captain. By the late 1880's, its recipients were representatives of clubs far removed in social background from the elite caste who had graced the finals in his own playing days, and this rising myth could embrace them all. 'Foteball' would ultimately hold a world-wide empire vaster even than that of Victoria The Good. The future Edward VII attended the 1887 Jubilee football games, and bestowed some degree of establishment approval on the sport by consenting to be introduced to the Preston captain, Jack Ross. Indeed, the future merry monarch showed some gift for the subtle nuances of the North End game, remarking on a particularly fine header, 'I say, Sudell, that man kicked the ball with his head!'. Alternatively the professional polluters of Marindin's Grand Old Game, quickly assumed a royal mantle of their own, and claimed the right to wear the Prince of Wales's feathers by Royal appointment long into the twentieth century.

The historians of the time, then as now, poor drudges who never harmed anyone, quickly embroidered a history of the game, which by 1889 had existed in its main essentials for only 25 years. The North Enders, sharing fully in their fellow Prestonians' obsession with their town's past, were soon to the fore of this movement. Preston's greatness, it was argued, came through its Guild, that twenty-year reminder of a long lost but ancient superiority over Blackburn, Bolton and such lesser places. The mantle was easily assumed by Preston North End, of course, where a sense of past greatness had become all pervading within barely fifteen years. The Deepdale legend came into the world fully formed as early as 1897, with the publication of Jimmy Catton's, **The Rise of the Leaguers from 1863-1897: Prestonians have revelled in the reputation of the North End for the last decade, and beyond all doubt have been justified in their pride ...I opine that the name of Preston North End, in modern football, must rank first. They were the pioneers of professionalism, and the well nigh invincible combination which played under their auspices showed the most scientific game ever seen, while their feat of winning both the league Championship and the English Cup in one season, without sustaining a single reverse, has never been equalled.(5)** Indeed, he opined, 'a ponderous volume' would be required 'to trace the complete history of the North End'. Though he chided North Enders for not investing heavily enough in the company's shares, Catton's account drawing heavily on statistics, biography and interesting anecdote, developed a pattern which most later writers have followed.

Individual club histories were virtually non-existent before the World War I, but general compilations continued to be very popular. One of the most successful was **Association Football And The Men Who Made It,** by A. Gibson and W. Pickford. Having suitably described Preston North End as, 'perhaps the most wonderful Association club of all time', the writers recognised the club's contribution to the game. William Sudell was 'one of the ablest men the football world has known', and through the Invincibles: **North End made a start which their contemporaries were not able to make up for nearly a decade. By initiating a new system of football they obtained a unique position, and after that all was easy ... It is doubtful if any team has ever given such thrilling exhibitions of forward play as North End. It was North End who initiated the principle of play which obtains today.(6)**

History was an important recruit to the very successful fund raising drive of 1903. The centre piece was a Grand Bazaar, held over three days in the Preston Public Hall. Arthur Brierley was called upon to apply his rhetorical skills to the bazaar handbook. This extremely tasteful publication, headed by a pair of heavenly nymphs embracing cordially in an upturned sea shell with scrolls, dwelt at some length on the duty North Enders owed to future generations. They should restore the club's fallen greatness: **If the spirit of the proud town still lives, there must of necessity be a welcome rally to the cause of North End, and the name which once fired the country with its splendour will again become the boast of every true Prestonian.(7)** Having described the enormity of writing a history of the club (and accomplishing it in just 13 pages) the most scientific of writers wound himself up for his big ending: **Surely the past will stir up our Preston pride ...Distance may in some cases, lend enchantment to the view; indeed it is certain that the halo which gilds so many events of the past has only gathered present brilliance as the years have passed away. But there are events, which, viewed through entirely colourless spectacles, stand supreme in their class. Such is the past of the Prestonians; and you might as well try to dim the lustre of the name of Grace in cricket as endeavour to detract from the illustrious deeds of North End in football.(8)**

The mobilisation of the past for the bazaar was a big financial success. Within three years Preston had won the championship of the Second Division and had been runners-up in the First. Perhaps more importantly, the fine old West stand had been built, and even though it was fast becoming out of date even as it opened, it was to protect generations of North Enders from the elements to nearly the end of the century.

From the outset, football history developed a strong statistical bent. This was assisted by the use of goal average to ascertain a club's standing in the period before the formation of the Football League. The first analysis of the club's playing record was published in the 1880's, and the first of the annual club guides seems to have been produced in 1887 by a Mr C. W. White. North End year books provide a detailed record of the club's achievements and playing record well into the second half of the twentieth century. This essentially record-based approach has recently been revived, and **Preston North End FC 1971-1996: The Official Record** by David Powter and Michael Robinson was published in 1996. Similarly, the first team photograph to go on general sale had appeared by 1883, and in 1887 the team was specially photographed 'by the Instantaneous process' with the Lord Provost of Glasgow at the inaugural match at Ibrox Park. A stupendously large crowd of over 20,000 saw North End win 5-0.

A RADIO BROADCAST FROM DEEPDALE, EARLY 1950'S

WHILE FINNEY IS PRE-OCCUPIED, MANAGER WILL SCOTT (EXTREME RIGHT) HAS HIS EYE FIRMLY ON THE ACTION ON THE PITCH. EARLY BROADCASTS COULD BE EXTREMELY IDIOSYNCRATIC. ON ONE OCCASION THE SPEAKER BROKE OFF HIS COMMENTARY ON A FINNEY-LED ATTACK, TO DESCRIBE A ROBIN WHICH HAD LANDED BESIDE HIS MICROPHONE. LISTENERS HEARD A TREMENDOUS OUTBREAK OF CHEERING, BUT HAD TO WAIT UNTIL THE VISITOR HAD FLOWN AWAY TO DISCOVER WHAT HAD HAPPENED!

The local press realised that football copy and controversy sold newspapers, and when the Lancashire Daily Post ran a series 'Famous Men in Football' in 1898, it soon found itself in dispute with The Gem as to which players would form the best-ever side. The Preston paper had put forward James Trainer, Jack Ross and Johnny Goodall from the 'imperishably renowned Preston North End'.[9] From 1 September 1900 it ran a series 'Famous Clubs and Grounds', with Preston North End naturally forming the subject of the first study. In one of his earliest articles, Brierley began: **Many a picturesque pen has painted all the honours of Preston's pre-eminent footballers and performances live in our memory; the picture fades not, but remains an indelible reality - the synonym of perfection. It will ever be so, for circumstances make it impossible that so many of the pick of players will again gather under one banner.**[10] The piece contained an interview with Sam Thomson ('Sam Thomson Speaks'), and was largely reprinted in the later 1903 handbook.

The 1950's was a particularly fruitful period for articles of this type, with the series 'Looking Back', which began in 1951, and 'Secrets of the Masters' which ran from 1956. The first series about Tom Finney's life began in 1954, and the subject was subsequently revived on a number of occasions, most notably by Norman Shakeshaft in 1977. On 3 October 1953, Will Scott began a series of reminiscences which forms one of the most important historical sources for the Taylor-Scott era, and ran through 31 episodes up to May 1954. From the late 1960's the same approach has been developed in the club's match day programme, with a vast array of themes, from notable seasons, memorable conflicts with the visitors of the day, and biographies of the club's great players. In recent years the North End expert, Ian Rigby, has been a particularly prominent contributor, and his work has found recent expression in his book **Proud Preston: Preston North End's One Hundred Seasons of Football League History,** written with Mike Payne (1999).

Yet the concept that North End's past could be considered worthy of formal historical writing developed only very slowly. Interest in the subject grew during the World War I, perhaps from a growing sense of nostalgia for a simpler happier world, perhaps to entertain the lads at the front, but more probably to provide copy in the absence of League football. By August 1916, when the death of former goalkeeper James Trainer was covered in some detail, this trend in Brierley's weekly column had become marked. The timing is interesting, for the full horrors of the Dardenelles Campaign and the Battle of the Somme were fast becoming directly apparent to Prestonians. During 1916 many dark corners of North End's early history were explored, old photographs published, and ageing pioneers interviewed, as 'Perseus' struggled to maintain a footballing presence in the paper. He was aware that not all of his readers might appreciate this dwelling on the past, and clearly there was not yet any widely accepted concept that such materials were worthy of systematic study. On 5 February 1916 he apologised 'to the present generation for these historical notes, but they will revive memories of football's golden age for older people still living in the area'.

Notes in the press and player obituaries continued to be important factors in the development of the sense of the club's history, and the series of footballing Jubilees in the inter-war years provided a critical stimulus to popular acceptance. The most important of these came in 1928 with the Golden Jubilee of the Lancashire Football Association. **A History of the Lancashire Football Association, 1878 - 1928,** by C. E. Sutcliffe and F. Hargreaves, treated the subject in a fairly formal and recognised manner. North End's importance in the emergence of the professional game was recognised, but once again a suggestion that the club was no longer the power in the game that it had once been crept in; **Of late there have been numerous Secretarial and Managerial changes, all indicative of a keen determination to place the club in its old honoured position. Sir Meyrick Hollins is not the man to be content with anything but the best, nor are the Directors likely to be weighed down unduly by difficulties. The proud spirit of the town never dies, and the Club is typical of the people.(11)** In 1938 the Golden Jubilee of the Football League was celebrated by publication of **The Story of the Football League** by C. E. Sutcliffe, J. A. Brierley, and F. Howarth. The involvement of 'Perseus' brought North End rightfully to the fore; **Mr. William Sudell ...was the head and front of the illegal movement of the early eighties which brought about professionalism, and who, perhaps more than any other man, was responsible for the introduction into the game of an organised scientific style by the building up of the famous team of Preston 'Invincibles'.(12)**

PRESTON NORTH END F.C.

CIGARETTE CARD. BILL TREMELLING (FRONT ROW, CENTRE) AND THE PRESTON NORTH END TEAM OF 1937.

SUCH CARDS PROVED A VERY EFFECTIVE MEANS OF INCREASING CIGARETTE SALES. THOUGH 'INVINCIBLE' BOB HOLMES DEPLORED SMOKING, TRAINER WILL SCOTT CONFESSED THAT HE COULD DO LITTLE TO CONTROL THE HABITS OF HIS ATHLETIC CHARGES, OTHER THAN ENCOURAGING THE WORSE CULPRITS TO EASE OFF A BIT TOWARDS THE END OF THE WEEK.

Preston's Cup runs in 1921 and 1922 were greeted by extensive and triumphalist reiteration of the club's by now rather distant Cup pedigree. Brierley interviewed a number of the 'Invincibles' attending the 1922 Cup Final, and as he got older his approach to the game deepened. He took some pride in the revival of the club's fortunes after 1931, and endorsed James Taylor's concept of a Greater North End. He had clearly begun to see the progress of these years in a historical perspective. Along with Taylor and Scott he shared the golden years of the late thirties - the age of the New Invincibles. Over a lifetime spent scrutinising the affairs of the club, piecing together the fragments of its early history and yarning with former greats, he had developed a knowledge of North End which was unsurpassed in his own time, and ultimately, perhaps, subordinate only to that of Sir Tom Finney.

On the eve of the 1937 Cup Final, Brierley compressed his life's work into a short series of historical articles. These followed the by now familiar recipe of anecdote and seasonal analysis, but also include some superb individual descriptions of leading players. He brought the 'history' of the club up to the present time, and in the events of 1931 recognised the importance of the management of the club and the policy of the directors as the most important factor in its success. The final episode, appearing on Cup Final day itself, was impressively headed, 'Deepdale Today - A Triumph of Courage and Vision'. In a number of articles written around this time, and further developed in 1938, he particularly stressed the part played by James Taylor. The long-term success of a football club, like any other business, he realised, was ultimately dependent on the policy and personality of the directors.(13)

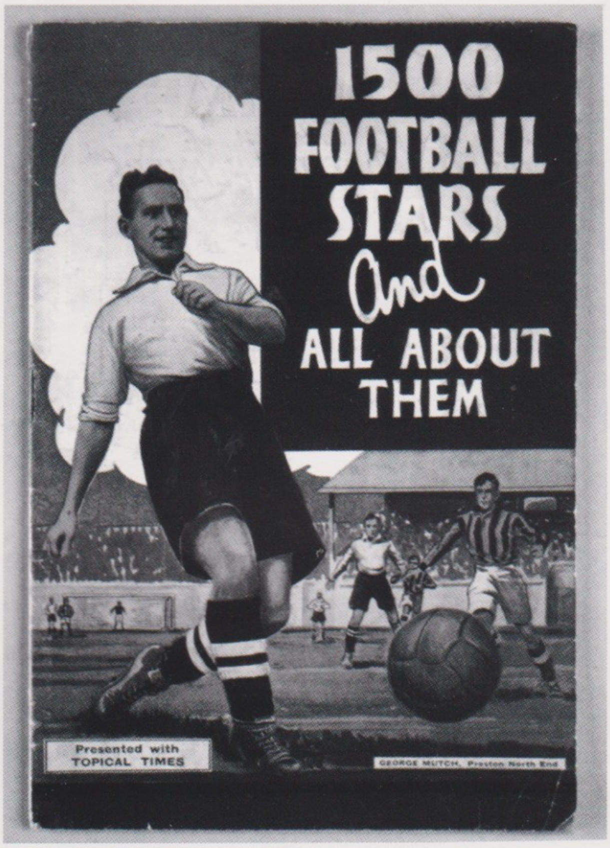
The first **Official History of Preston North End** appeared in 1948, and from the board's minutes it is clear that they had great pecuniary hopes for it. In a brief introduction, facing a portrait of 'James I. Taylor (Chairman, Preston North End Football Club)', the secretary George Howarth enthused: **North End friends and supporters will find in this story of North End history much to stir the memory and excite the imagination ...As yesterday, so it is now, and all well-wishers with any regard for the famous North End club so believe - the same tomorrow.** Into a neat 36-page booklet, selling for one shilling, the authors compressed 'The exciting story of Preston North End. Sixty years of Football Thrills. Great Games and Great Players of the Past and Present', by Alex James and Lainson Wood'. In addition the work contained lists of North End internationals, and the club's Cup record. The early part of the story was based on Perseus's 1937 series and his interview with Walter Pomfret published in the 1938 Cup Final-day Special. The account of James's career at Deepdale is most interesting, and is incorporated in a novel way: **(As this now brings the period of the club's history into the ken of Alex James, he has felt that, to save any embarrassment I should take over for a while - Lainson Wood)',** followed three pages later by, **'(Now Alex James will take over for a while to give his own version of the move - Lainson Wood)'.**

Blending personal reminiscence into the well rehearsed cult of James Taylor's New Invincibles, the booklet provides a colourful account of the club's progress in the pre-war years, and to its historic climax in 1938, when the Aberdonian did the business: **Who at Wembley on that unforgettable afternoon could erase from his mind the memory, even if he wanted to, of that last minute of extra time with the score still 0-0; of little Mutch gathering the plus-perfect pass of even littler Bobbie Beattie and streaking through the defence into the penalty area, with only the goalkeeper to beat; of Alf Young, the rock on which an unflagging Huddersfield defence had stood so nobly firm for 119 minutes, thrusting out a foot in desperation and bringing Mutch hurtling to earth; of the deathly hush that came over the vast stadium following the referee's shrill whistle as he pointed to the fatal spot; of the roar that greeted Mutch as he picked himself up, gathered the ball, placed it carefully on the**

spot, walked slowly back a few yards, then ran in and crashed it into the roof of the net. Unquestionably a penalty.(14)

During the 1950's the autobiographies of individual star players became very popular. Tom Finney was well to the fore, with his **Football Round The World,** which appeared in 1953, followed five years later by **Finney On Football**. Paul Agnew's **Finney - A Football Legend** was published in 1989, and Finney has contributed to a number of newspaper accounts (including a cartoon series of his life), and oral history projects. In **Kicking and Screaming; An Oral History of Football in England,** for example, he recalled the system for re-signing at the end of the season at Deepdale during the Maximum Wage era: **The retained players were called in one by one and it would be something on the lines of, 'Well, you've had a good season and we're offering you the same terms as last season, sign here', and he would sign a blank form and they would fill the terms in after.(15)**

Though it was brought to the board's attention that the Golden Jubilee of the club's footballing interest might be celebrated with some justification in 1933, nothing was arranged. This lapse was made good fifty years later. Using the Pilkington collection, a major exhibition was organised at the town's Harris Museum in September and October 1981, and Harry Berry and Geoff Allman were commissioned to undertake a full-scale history of the club for the first time. Director and club secretary Ted Griffiths was a prime mover in these and the many other ventures which around this time promoted North End's remarkable role in the development of the game. Published by the club in 1982, **One Hundred Years at Deepdale 1881-1981,** provided the first systematic history, by way of a superb and detailed account of the club's playing performance during most seasons. The biographies of leading players are superbly written and in a number of instances are classics of their kind, as in this description of Charlie Wayman: **Quick off the mark, the great Jackie Milburn described him as the most single minded of opportunists, he seldom influenced proceedings outside the penalty area, but no defender could afford to ignore him. No goal poacher was ever more lethal when he was quiet, for in a split second he had the ability to accept the smallest of chances. Patience was his main virtue and he was at his most dangerous with the completely unexpected through ball or the misplaced back pass. His acceleration was phenomenal and his calm in front of goal astonishing.(16)**


1500 FOOTBALL STARS and ALL ABOUT THEM
Presented with TOPICAL TIMES
GEORGE MUTCH, Preston North End

The 'Topical Times', 1939.
Here George Mutch gets something of the film star treatment increasingly enjoyed by footballers from the mid-1930's onwards.

In many respects this is the book which Walter Pilkington might have written. The rise of the club's great sides in the Sudell, Taylor and Finney eras is accomplished with easy aplomb. In just under 300 pages the book also incorporates the club's record in the FA and League cups, and season by season lists of player appearances. As an account of the

North End's playing history, it is unlikely that **One Hundred years of Football at Deepdale** will ever be improved upon. The book has a very vivid atmosphere and maintains a sense of suspense. This is the account of the end of Bobby Charlton's first season: **Fans wondered whether Easter could again prove a resurrection of North End's fading hopes. Both the Good Friday and Easter Saturday games were at Deepdale, but Sheffield Wednesday snatched a goalless draw and the gate dropped to 7,707 for the following day, when Oxford achieved a similar result. A two-nil win at Bolton kept alive mathematical chances of survival and 16,177 flocked to Deepdale for the last match against Middlesbrough in the hope of a miracle. In fact Mike Elwiss scored twice in the first half, but Boro' who were already certain of promotion romped home four-two ...Bobby Charlton looked towards his second season at the helm in the uncertain water of the Third Division.(17)** Writing at the start of the 1980's the authors were happily spared the club's Dark Age, a period which would see their concluding remark, 'Preston North End always has, and always will be a great club', severely tested.

The last two decades of the twentieth century saw Football Studies rise to academic respectability, if not high fashion. A strongly sociological perspective has emerged, greatly influenced by Tony Mason's **Association Football and English Society - 1863-1915** published in 1981. The historical significance of the Preston club pervades much of this work and the club's importance is today widely recognised. Pioneering work was undertaken by David Russell, whose **Preston North End Football Club; 100 Years in the Football League,** coincided with a second Harris Museum exhibition - '100-nil' - in 1988-9. This 54-page booklet followed the familiar pattern, but set the club firmly in its social history context and examined the broader coverage of the sport in the contemporary press. Along with the general account of the team's playing fortunes expected by supporters, Russell was able to weave something of the social significance of the players and the club in the changing times. This is best illustrated by his account of Finney's final game: **In a sense Finney's last match illustrates the end of more than just a glittering career. It seems almost to symbolise the end of a whole era of social life. 'Auld Lang Syne' and public speeches belong more to the era of the Invincibles than to the 1960's. If Finney was thirty years younger he would bid farewell either with a wave or a lap of the pitch, and then do his talking through a commentator in the dressing room. The crowd would chant his name or sing a favourite song, but not 'Auld Lang Syne', at least not in April! ...It is simply that in twenty-eight years social attitudes have changed a great deal.(18)** Setting the history of the club in this wider context, also provided a framework in which the club's catastrophic decline after 1960 - a subject generally avoided by all writers - becomes both more intelligible and open to rational analysis.

In recent years the club's past has been pushed well to the fore by the visionary scheme to site the English national football museum within the Deepdale Stadium. The museum's location at the home of the world's oldest professional club, still on its original site, is clearly a very suitable one. The present writer has had full access to the club's records and has attempted to provide a balanced account which might reconcile the earlier approaches. Implicit is the recognition that though Preston North End is a business operating in one sector of the leisure industry, it is also in its local context, a continuation by weekly winter instalments of what Dr. Alan Crosby has called England's greatest festival - the Preston Guild. Indeed, after nearly a century and a half, it can be said to have eclipsed the Guild Merchant in the town's popular consciousness. The club is an intrinsic part of the town's life, and a study of North End sheds light on many aspects of the social history of Preston. Publication of this study is perhaps also timely in a practical footballing sense. As 'Perseus' observed amid a similar revival in the team's fortunes in 1937: **At a time when the Preston North End club is once more making football history it is not inopportune perhaps to trace the part it played in the broad development of the game, and in the shaping of the destinies of what has become the greatest force in British sport.(19)**

a special

THANK YOU

Lancashire Evening Post

Lancashire Record Office

Lancashire County Library Service

University of Central Lancashire

The Football League

The Lancashire Football Association

The National Football Museum

The Chairman and Board of

Preston North End Football Club

AND

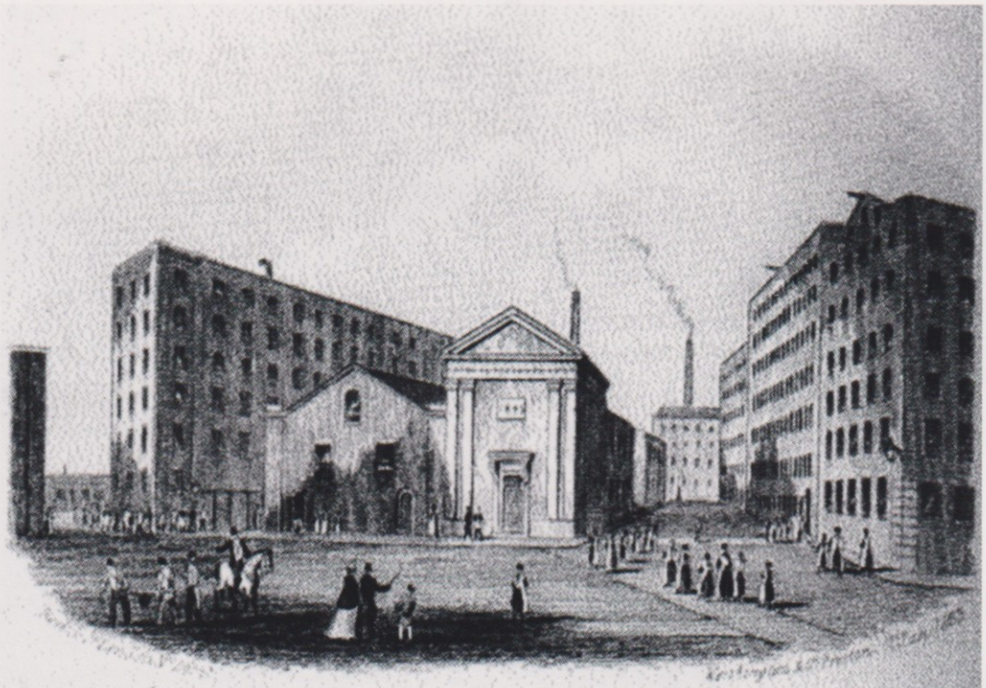
The late Ted Griffiths for his

vision and foresight.

chapter 1

the reasoning, god-fearing men of the PNECC

In the last twenty years of the nineteenth century Preston set a record of achievement that none of its rivals - Manchester, Leeds or Liverpool - could match. The town came top fifteen times, and runners up three times in the national league of Infant Mortality.


Messrs Horrockses, Miller & Co's Yard Factory, Preston

The mills of Horrockses, Miller & Co., Stanley Street, Preston, c1840.
Founded by John Horrocks, the firm had become The Greatest name in Cotton by the 1820's. Employing over 4,000 workpeople the Yard Works came to symbolise the rise of Preston's Cottonopolis. The site's closure in the early 1960's heralded the end of the old cotton town. (Charles Hardwick's History of Preston)

In 1893 for example, Preston killed 268 out of every thousand of its infants. It was this recurring tragedy, rather than the town's fine public buildings, which was the real heritage of the great cotton boom of the first half of the nineteenth century. Rapid expansion in the first three decades of the century had spawned widespread speculative building, and consequently a poor housing stock. In the 1840's alone, houses had to be found for an additional 18,500 people. Only after 1850 did the most basic public health provisions begin to be made, and epidemics of infectious diseases were to be frequent well into the following century.**(1)**

By the 1850's the town was dominated by great barrack blocks of cotton mills, and in 1882 it was estimated that the local trade employed some 36,977 people to operate 2,191,552 spindles and 48,243 looms. The tremendous wealth they created went largely to their masters, the 'Cotton Lords of Preston', among them Thomas Miller, Edmund Birley and John Goodair. Life in the mills was harsh, discipline was strict, the working day was long, and strikes were frequent. In the 1830's it was asserted: **The Cotton Lords of Preston are the greatest tyrants in the country. It is well known that they grind their workmen down more than any other persons, getting their work done cheaper, and therefore they can under sell their neighbours.** The 'Great Lockout' of 1853-4 led Karl Marx to claim that, 'The eyes of the working class are now fully opened. They begin to cry 'Our St. Petersburg is at Preston'.**(2)**

The Industrial Revolution, partly stirred into life by Prestonian Richard Arkwright, had thus transformed the rather gentrified 'North Lancashire' market town, with its fine houses and social season, into a stronghold of the industrial poor. In 1829 the vicar of St. Paul's reported that, 'The people are more barbarous and uncivilised than it is possible for anyone to conceive who has not been amongst them'.**(3)** In fact conditions in Preston were no different from those found throughout the manufacturing districts of the north. The town had a strong radical tradition, which in the 1830's became strongly associated with the drive for social progress. Joseph Livesey of Walton-le-Dale became the leader of the Temperance movement, and worked all his life for the betterment of his fellow townspeople. By the 1880's the results of economic growth were beginning to percolate downwards, and observers were keen to point to the landmarks of social progress over the previous twenty years; the new workhouse in Watling Street Road (1869), the Royal Infirmary (1870), and the new schools and parks. Indeed, by 1881 a 'Bells Patent Telephone System' operated by 'G.Sharples, Chemist & Electrician' of Fishergate, employed 118 miles of wire to service its one hundred customers.**(4)**

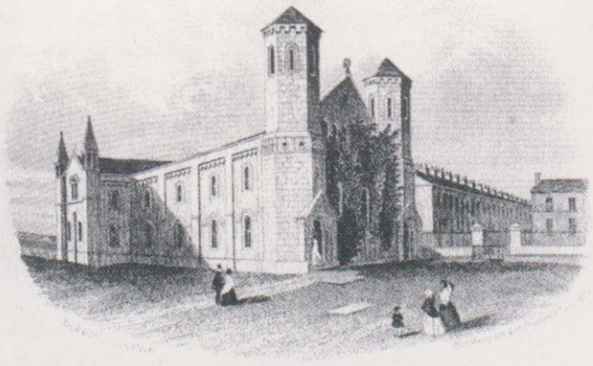
The town still preserved many facets of its old social establishment, a core of 'old' families with their new money connections, who had long held sway over the borough's affairs. Preston's class structure was clearly etched on its landscape, and the villas and residences of this vanished elite can still be seen around Winckley Square. Anciently their great showplace had been the Preston Guild Merchant, held at twenty-year intervals since time immemorial. Not everyone was impressed, and when the freedom of the town was conferred on the visiting diarist Ralph Thoresby at the Guild of 1702, he was obviously unmoved by this great honour: 'The Mayor made us the compliment of our freedom, but we thought ourselves more free without it'.**(5)** During the nineteenth century it had become both an increasingly popular festival, and the institution that the town was most famous for. Where other towns were famous for their cakes, Preston was famous for its Guild. Few spectators at the Guild celebrations of 1882, could have guessed that by the Guild of 1902, the town would have become world famous, not for the inventions of its sons, the excellence of its manufactures, or its willingness to eschew strong drink, but for the success of a sports club catering for the working classes. If the Preston Guild had signified the hegemony of the old establishment, the emergence of the Preston North End club came to reflect the rise of a new society. For football was to be, foremost, the sport of the masses.

The emergence of Association Football is closely linked with the broader changes sweeping the new industrial society in the second half of the nineteenth century, and these are nowhere more apparent than in the Lancashire textile towns. As the working day slowly began to contract and disposable incomes rose, sports and recreations of all kinds underwent something of a boom. More people could afford organised recreation. The seemingly passing football craze of the 1870's lasted however, and many of the clubs established at that time still exist. The histories of these voluntary associations with their quasi-democratic constitutions, can shed much light on the struggles of local communities to come to terms with changing economic, industrial and social trends. The hopes and fears of successive generations of North Enders can therefore tell us a great deal about the aspirations and attitudes of their society as a whole.

The rise of the North End club also did much to forge a new sense of identity, particularly for servicemen during the two world wars. This was to have some unusual side effects. Relations with Blackburn, whose inhabitants had always been at the forefront of fraternal support for their Preston comrades during the great industrial battles which had punctuated the class war, became marked by a strong rivalry. Similarly relations with the inhabitants of a sunny watering place and seaside resort on the Fylde coast, much favoured and deeply loved by all generations of Prestonians, were to become increasingly estranged after a dispute in the 1950's as to which town employed the best football player in the world. In fact, relations between all three clubs have always been much closer than anyone has ever admitted, and their disputes are essentially family ones. No decision of wider policy seems to have been made at Deepdale in the 1930's, for example, until someone had ascertained what the thinking was at Ewood; and the first team to congratulate either North End or Blackpool FC on their successes has usually been the other. Alternatively the Scots, who had burned the town in 1322 and made a battlefield of the place at various times since, became elevated to a sort of joint Preston-Scottish nationality. Many of the club's greatest players and influences have been (and continue to be) Scottish, so that the approach of a 'down' North British express train onto Maudland Bank was often greeted with the reassuring if laconic observation, 'Another player for North End!'.

A FEW YOUTHS

Posterity has not been kind to the cricketing pioneers of the Preston North End club. As early as 1897 Jimmy Catton dismissed them as 'A few youths residing on the west side of Preston', who 'pitched their wickets' on the Marsh, 'a vast open space ... hard by the docks where small coasting vessels anchored'.**(6)** Viewing events from the invincible heights of the 1890's, he saw their definitive establishment of the club in 1867, the acquisition of Deepdale, and their willingness to diversify into popular ventures of all kinds, as little more than a preamble to their adoption of the round ball game, and notable only for the recruitment of William Sudell. Most writers have followed suit. Yet to dismiss this formative period is to overlook perhaps the deciding factor in the club's



CHRIST CHURCH c.1850

THE SPIRITUAL HOME OF THE PIONEERS OF THE PRESTON NORTH END FOOTBALL CLUB, SURVIVES ONLY AS A FACADE OF THE MODERN COUNTY COUNCIL OFFICERS IN BOW LANE. DESPITE THE DEPARTURE OF THE FIRST NORTH ENDERS IN THE 1860'S THE PARISH LONG CONTINUED TO BE HOME TO THRIVING FOOTBALL AND CRICKET TEAMS. (CHARLES HARDWICK'S HISTORY OF PRESTON)

The Christ Church school annex in Bow Lane, site of the Boys' School in the 1860's.

James Gledhill, believed by many to be the missionary who converted the North Enders to the round ball game, taught here in the early 1870's. (photo: author)

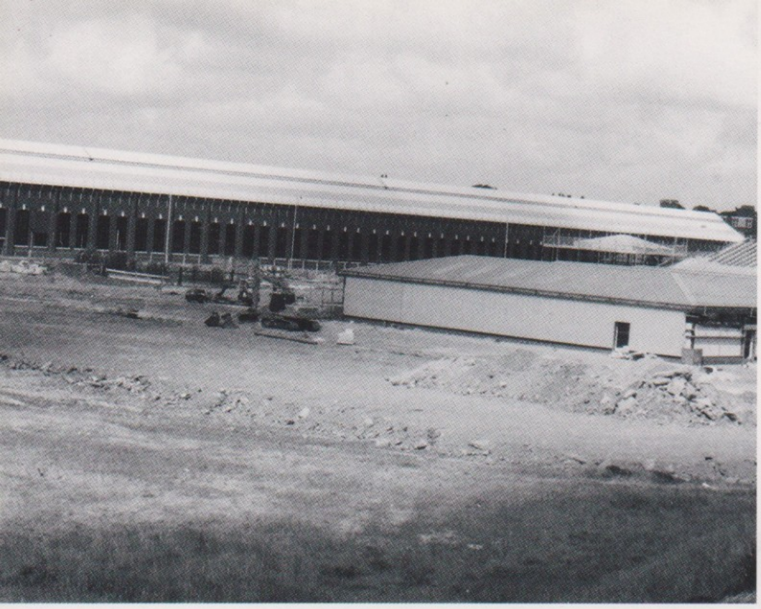
subsequent success. For the North End club of 1867 was no mere collection of youths. It attracted the best players from many of the best Preston teams, it possessed a strong and relatively influential executive, and perhaps most important of all, its ambitions recognised no social or sporting bounds.

The impression is of the deliberate creation of a new, highly respectable, but not socially exclusive club, to grace the advanced facilities recently opened on Moor Park. Remarkably for the period, here was a society with such low entry fees that membership was open to all, yet with members who were the social equals of their rivals in the Preston Cricket Club. This progressive group thus drew strength from the aspirations of its founders, and brought them sporting and social recognition both within the town and later beyond it. When the Association game took off so spectacularly in East Lancashire in the late 1870's, the North End club was thus ideally placed, in terms of geography and ethos to embrace it as its very own. It was a game that could at last satisfy an ambitious membership craving success, it was the latest craze, and more practically, it might pay.

If the establishment of the North End Cricket Club in 1867 marked a great leap forward in the evolution of Preston sports, who were its members, and what was their background? The Handbook of the 1903 fund-raising Bazaar contains an interesting preamble by 'Perseus': **It is surprising how many**

The former Wellfield Road school, May 2000.

The rising ground above Preston Marsh was the centre of the town's iron founding trade, where many of the boys taught at the Bow Lane and Wellfield Road schools must subsequently have been employed. Here in the 1840's young Richard Baxendale found his first job. The family concern would eventually become Baxi Partnership. (photo: author)



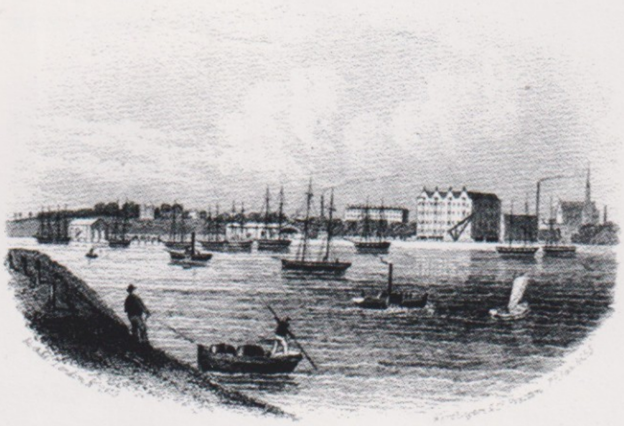
Strand Road, May 2000

The site of the former Dick,Kerr works, which had itself evolved upon the former water meadows of Preston Marsh. Little now remains of the heavy industry which dominated the west end of the town, whilst parts of the Preston Dock estate have been returned to recreational use. (photo: author)

of the great football clubs have sprung from religious institutions ...and in some cases the club has been originally a cricket club, only to find the winter pastime becoming more popular and successful even than the summer game. Both these conditions obtained with regard to North End. Citing William Naylor as his source, he saw the club as originating in a game played by Wellfield Road School on Whit Monday 1862. No subsequent writer - including Brierley himself in 1937 - has followed up this suggestion of religious overtones.(7)

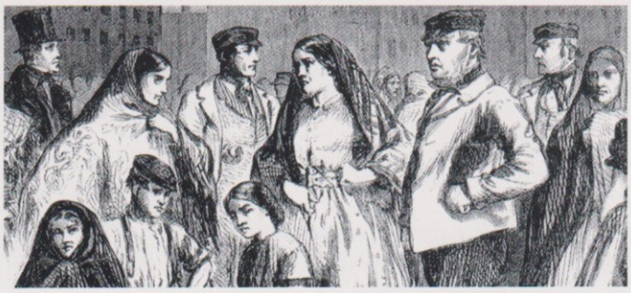
Since no records of Preston clubs seem to have survived from this period, newspapers provide the main documentation. Using surviving match reports from the period 1862-8, it is possible to produce a fair picture of the organisation of local cricket in these years and to trace the performances of individual players, accepting of course that two players can share the same names. As might be expected after 40 years, Naylor's memory seems to have been broadly accurate, but defective in a number of critical respects. On 24 May 1862 the Preston Herald reported that 'The Marsh is now almost nightly covered with those who are anxious to improve and enjoy this athletic exercise', and carried a notice of the opening game of the season, between Evening Star and 'the Wellfield club'. Yet the latter may have existed before this date, for when Bow Lane played Wellfield, before 'a considerable number of spectators' on the Saturday before Whitsuntide, a close game was expected, 'owing to the great experience of both clubs in the noble exercise of cricket'. In a game which Bow Lane won by 8 wickets, the two teams were: **Bow Lane:** J. Strickland, T. Aspen, M. Parkinson, W. Dixon, J. Wright, W. Robinson, J. Bromley, J. Yates, J. Parker, J. Pennington, and Isaac Higginton. **Wellfield:** J. Harding, T. Grime, G. Macmullen, Horsley, Worsley, Cunningham, Radcliffe, Naylor, Owen, Coulthurst and Sumner.(8)

Naylor's recollections appear selective in another important respect. Of the 22 players who took the field that day only Naylor himself can be shown to have subsequent North End links, and it was the Bow Lane club that provided the core of North End players. Players frequently changed teams, and by 1866 Naylor had himself thrown in his lot with the Bow Lane men. On 24 June 1866 the team played the second eleven of Preston Olympic on the Marsh, losing by 7 runs. The teams comprised:



An engraving of Preston Marsh, seen from Penwortham church, c1850.

Before the diversion of the river, during the construction of Preston Dock, sailing ships tied-up sometimes two or three abreast along the wharf. (Charles Hardwick's History of Preston')



The Lancashire Cotton Famine: an engraving from the Illustrated London News.

During the winter of 1863 over 30,000 people were surviving on charity and the meagre dole allowed by the Board of Guardians.

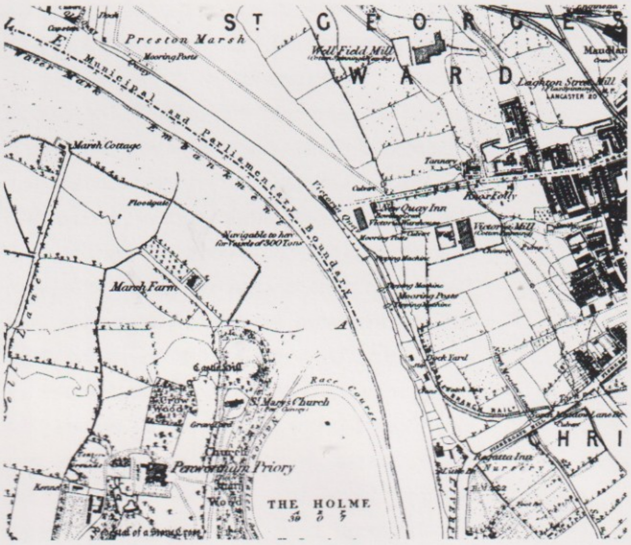
Olympic: Bamber, Wood, Mather, R. Woodhouse*, W. Robinson, Jenkins, Watson, J. Robinson, Macfarlane, J. Woodhouse, and Moss. **Bow Lane:** Marchbank*, Green*, Banks*, Lowe, Hulme*, Snape*, Naylor*, Dobson*, Taylor, Albert and Ormandy.(9)

From surviving team lists it is clear that the town's cricketers formed a fairly loose pool of players rather than a tightly organised club system. Men often turned out for whoever would give them a game, and at least eight of these players (*) became involved in the affairs of the North End club. Accordingly in this history of paradoxes, the distant origins of the North End club can be traced to the west end of the town.

'EARNEST, GOD FEARING MEN'

Both Wellfield Road and Bow Lane are located on the rising bluffs of the Ribble valley, overlooking the former water meadows along the riverside. This low-lying area was dominated by Preston Marsh, an area of unenclosed common land, loosely bounded by modern day Watery Lane, Strand Road, and the Dockland estate. Like Preston Moor to the north, it had anciently been an important element of Preston's rural economy, and the townspeople had the right to graze their animals there. By the nineteenth century it had become an important area for recreation and was a natural choice for sporting events. Athletic festivals were well established, and generally included wrestling, running and jumping events. At the grandly named 'Preston Athletic Sports' of 1864, admission was free and 'a large concourse of spectators', comprised 'a few of the respectable order, some of the medium sort, many of the liquoring out fraternity, and lots of nomadic athletical camp followers'.(10)

The Bow Lane district, by contrast, had become the intensely industrialised centre of the town's iron and engineering industry. Richard Baxendale, the founder of Baxi Partnership (who a hundred and thirty years later were destined to be the saviours of the football club) had learned his trade here in the 1840's. By the 1860's, the cotton industry was also expanding rapidly in the district, while to the east lay Preston railway station, with its extensive marshalling yards and the main line to Scotland. The town's most industrialised district was thus adjacent to its most popular recreation ground.



Preston Marsh in the 1840's.

This extract reveals the extent of open land lying along the river Ribble to the north of Marsh Lane, before extensive building operations got underway in the 1870's. (First edition of the 6th Ordnance Survey map of Preston)

To cater for the spiritual needs of this expanding and largely working class throng, Christ Church was built in 1836. The Bow Lane church opened schools in 1833, and in 1855 Wellfield Road was built to provide further accommodation. Work on St. Mark's church began in 1861, and the 'Wellfield Road Schools' now found themselves in a separate though neighbouring parish.(11) In spite of their strong parochial association, or perhaps because of it, the two cricket clubs became keen rivals. The pupils would have had every opportunity to make use of the Marsh. The St. Mark's school log book for

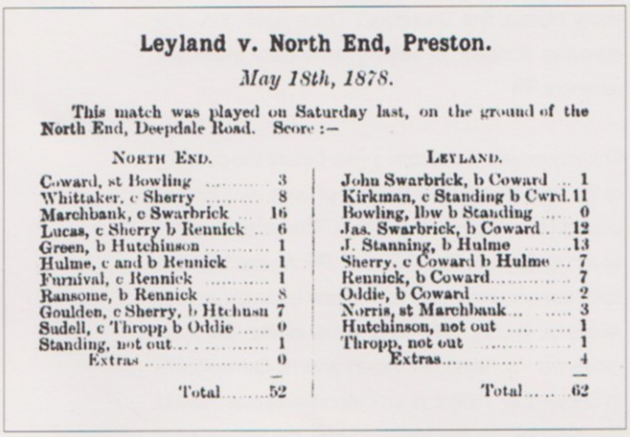
5 August 1864 records, 'This week the attendance has been rather irregular, owing to the sports on the marsh being held on Monday and Tuesday'. As late as July 1880, it was recorded that, 'Afternoon. Allowed 14 boys who distinguished themselves in poetry, to run down to the marsh for a short game of cricket'. The strong presumption is, therefore, that both cricket clubs originated in their respective schools. A similar tendency is recorded at St.Paul's school, where a cricket club for pupil teachers and day boys was formed in 1867.**(12)**

The 'Lancashire Cotton Famine' (1862-4) threw many mill hands out of work, and left others with only part-time employment. Industrial Schools for adults became an important feature of the relief system devised to cope with the crisis.**(13)** The classes organised at Christ Church were very extensive. A large force of voluntary teachers had been recruited, and the men's Bible Class which alone numbered over 300, was reported to consist of 'earnest, God-fearing men', who 'engage with earnest attention in reading the word of God'. Cricket was also perceived to be a means of strengthening those bonds of mutual dependence and affection which it was thought ought to have existed between the social classes. In a period of increasing (and enforced) leisure time, parochial rivalries and the neighbourhood basis of education, were clearly central features of local identity in sport, sufficient at least to generate considerable interest in the Wellfield - Bow Lane confrontations on the field of play.**(14)**

Nor was it by chance that the town's cricket season opened at Whitsuntide, a season when local rivalries traditionally reached their peak in Preston. The Preston Herald reported in 1860, that **'Whitsuntide has this year been celebrated in Preston with more spirit than on any previous occasion. The police have been energetic, have preserved great order, and such being the case, have had to wage war with several of the lower elements which gather round Whitsuntide festivities'.** During this season of religious witness, marked by enormous and elaborate church and school processions, some 30 gambling dens were broken up.**(15)**

By the mid-1860's cricket had established itself as the town's principal summer sport. The local clubs fell into two categories: those who could afford their own ground, and those that played on the Marsh. To acquire club premises was the aspiration of every club secretary. The 1860 season was marked by the opening of Preston CC's 'new cricket ground in South Meadow Lane'.**(16)** This was the most prosperous, successful and socially exclusive of the local clubs. It played teams from the neighbouring towns and provided players for the representative games of the time. The generally well-heeled membership and a scattering of influential cotton men on the executive, could easily afford the services of a professional, both as a player and a coach. Stonyhurst School employed a coach, and this degree of sporting professionalism was clearly acceptable. On 13 May 1865, for example, the Preston Chronicle reported a match, 'Preston (with Bishop) versus Bootle (with Pratt)'. Bishop was bowled by Pratt for 5, but took 4 Bootle wickets and Preston won. At the end of the season the professional was usually presented with 'a purse of gold'.**(17)**

The club also provided a stage for the town's fashionable set, and soirées, balls and the more important games became events on the social calendar. Indeed, matches were so respectable that it was felt safe for ladies to attend, and they often did so in large numbers. The more important Preston games were covered by the local press, and the Preston Guardian usually produced an annual report or season's review. This provided sketchy details of individual players. Two future PNECC men were featured in 1866. W. Marchbank was described as 'A nice steady bat', but praise for R. Woodhouse was more grudging: 'Though his balls have more peculiarity than goodness about them, yet he has been tolerably successful'.**(18)** Another mark of exclusivity was that club matches were usually played on weekdays, making working class participation impossible. In 1869 'Roscius' argued for Sunday sport: **Cricket, now, is a thing every young man almost has a mania for. It is a good, healthy game, and I have no doubt that, if the ground were open on a Sunday, it would**



Leyland v. North End, Preston.

May 18th, 1878.

This match was played on Saturday last, on the ground of the North End, Deepdale Road. Score :—

North End.		Leyland.	
Coward, st Bowling	3	John Swarbrick, b Coward	1
Whittaker, c Sherry	8	Kirkman, c Standing b Cwrd.	11
Marchbank, c Swarbrick	16	Bowling, lbw b Standing	0
Lucas, c Sherry b Rennick	6	Jas. Swarbrick, b Coward	12
Green, b Hutchinson	1	J. Stanning, b Hulme	13
Hulme, c and b Rennick	1	Sherry, c Coward b Hulme	7
Furnival, c Rennick	1	Rennick, b Coward	7
Ransome, b Rennick	8	Oddie, b Coward	2
Goulden, c Sherry, b Htchusn	7	Norris, st Marchbank	3
Sudell, c Thropp b Oddie	0	Hutchinson, not out	1
Standing, not out	1	Thropp, not out	1
Extras	0	Extras	4
Total	52	Total	62

Leyland Cricket Club scorecard 1878.

The Victorian cricket boom was followed by the emergence of rugby and later football as winter sports. On this occasion a North End team containing many of the early stalwarts, had the worse of it against John Stanning's crack Leyland side. The father of professional football had a particularly bad day. (Leyland Museum)

prove an incalculable blessing to many.(19) This would also remove the crowds of loitering men, lads and boys from the streets on the Sabbath.

Far behind the Preston club came the remainder of the town teams, but only Preston Olympic was able to approach them socially. In 1862 the Olympians held a soirée in the Assembly Rooms, 'tickets 4/6d per couple', and the club ball of 1867 was notable for the 'select character of their gathering'. The club had a ground behind the Bridge Inn at Penwortham, but at the annual meeting of 1866 the secretary 'regretted that he was unable to find a ground for private practice' despite 'a handsome surplus', and the 'numerous gentlemen and neighbours who are patrons'.**(20)** The great majority of players on the Marsh belonged to a plethora of local teams representing amalgamations of all kinds. Many cotton mills fielded elevens, and the games played by the team from Horrockses, Miller & Co were often well attended. The firm employed more than 4,000 people.

All sorts of firms competed, and the annual game between the staffs of the Preston Chronicle and the Preston Herald quickly became grudge matches. Internecine conflicts within Preston's legal profession were also best avoided. With strong support in the town for the Confederates, the Alabama team was successful for a while, whilst royalty and patriotism had their supporters with Victoria and Albert teams, and the Young Britons. The short-lived Nelson club might also come into this category. School, church and chapel teams abounded, and by the end of the decade the local newspapers devoted whole columns to match reports. The players flitted from team to team, and though their degree of loyalty must often have been questionable, the measure of club success was clear. Preston CC set the standard, and the success of the rest was judged by how closely they could emulate it.

THE NORTH END (PRESTON) CRICKET CLUB

Ironically the Cotton famine narrowed the gulf between these extremes. Fearful of inculcating habits of idleness among the unemployed, the town fathers devised an immense system of public works. The most lasting of these was the laying out of Moor Park on the ancient Preston Moor, between Garstang Road and Deepdale Road. Like Preston Marsh, the moor had long been held in common. Originally a part of the Forest of Fulwood gifted to the town through the Royal Charter of King John, this district had a colourful past. A bloody battle was fought at Deepdale in 1315, and at the outbreak of the Civil War in June 1642 both sides mustered their forces on the moor. During the latter a warlike crowd of 20,000 quickly shrank to just 750 when volunteers were called for.**(21)**

Funds were obtained for the Moor Park project under the Public Works (Manufacturing Districts) Act, and by June 1865 the work was well advanced. Three miles of iron railing enclosed a park of 100 acres. The centrepiece was eight acres of pleasure grounds, and a municipal cricket ground.**(22)** At the same time inroads began to be made into the Marsh. In 1862 a new road was laid across it - the West Strand - and the corporation planned to lay out 12 adjoining streets, to be named after rivers, Trent Street, Tay Street etc. Four years later the publication of detailed proposals for the construction of a wet dock clearly heralded the end of the Marsh as an important place of public amusement.**(23)**

In October 1867, Moor Park and the new Town Hall were opened with all the pomp and ceremony for which Preston was famous. Addressing a crowd of 80,000 from the cricket ground, the mayor expressed the establishment's pride in this display of civic might: **A magnificent Town Hall is the outward and visible expression of the improved condition of the public mind. Attractive places of recreation like the parks are descriptive of the higher morality of the people as shown in their amusements, and an expression of a deep regard for the health, moral, mental and physical good of the neighbourhood.(24)** Particular attention had been given to the cricket ground which had been laid out at great expense: 'I think there is no-one who will disagree with me - that the game of cricket strengthens the body and tends to elevate the mind (hear hear, and applause)'. The press drew suitable parallels with the Roman Empire, and perhaps understandably, the royal party led by the Duke of Cambridge found it expedient to leave midway through the celebratory banquet. They missed Mr. Coxwell's balloon ascent, and the 'Grand Torchlight Grotesque Procession'.

The cricket ground which had been ready for some time, triggered something of a revolution in the game's local organisation, and resulted in the formation of the North End club. How the Bow Lane men came to be given the opportunity of transferring to the new ground is not clear, but as Naylor recalled, the 'removal was only decided upon by a small majority, and several members resigned and continued on the Marsh in other company'. Nor was the new club's name adopted immediately: 'Indeed, they agreed to be known as the Nelson, but ere the season had run its course they had adopted the familiar, and one may say honoured style of Preston North End, this on the motion of Harry Hulme, the Secretary'. Once again the only surviving account is lacking in several important respects.**(25)**

The key events took place a year before the opening of the park, in 1866. At the end of June the Olympic played Bow Lane on the Marsh. The latter included seven embryonic North Enders.**(26)** A year later the split had occurred, and when Bow Lane played the Alabama in July 1867 only three of the old team remained - J. Taylor, W. Albert and H. Ormandy.**(27)** In September 1866 a team called the Nelson played the Britannic on the Marsh, 'when the former were victorious with 5 wickets to fall'.**(28)** Unfortunately the team is not given, but if members of the Bow Lane team established the Nelson club, this must have occurred at a meeting held between July and September 1866.

By the following season a team calling itself the 'North End' existed, for on Saturday 26 May 1867 it defeated the 'Alabama, with Green' by 5 runs on Moor Park cricket ground. The play of Banks, Taylor and Hulme was said to be 'all that could be desired'.**(29)** If this second change of name took place within the same season, as most commentators insist, then it must have occurred at the start of the 1867 season. The club's progress thereafter was spectacular, and attracted detailed coverage by the press. Yet the Nelson club continued to exist through 1867, and defeated the Albert by 5 runs in a return game played over four nights on Moor Park in August.**(30)** The possibility exists therefore that the North End club emerged from splits in consecutive years in both the Bow Lane and Nelson clubs. The new club was to be a quite different beast.

The contention over Moor Park may have found a wider resonance among the cricketing community, and the Bow Lane seven were quickly joined by members from most of the town's leading clubs. Prominent among these were Osborne, Gillett, and Holme from Preston Olympic, Coward from Preston Victoria, and the Marchbanks from Preston CC. On July 20th they played the Fulwood Garrison, winning by 15 on the first innings; 'Heavy rain caused both bowling and fielding on the part of North End to become rather loose ...During the game the Preston players and friends were liberally supplied with refreshments by the Garrison'. The team comprised, W. Marchbank, J. Marchbank, Banks, Sumner, Green, Woods, Hulme, Goddard, Berry, Wilson, and Almond.**(31)** The following week 'Eleven of Preston' played 'Eleven of the NECC', 'below West Cliff', for as the Preston Guardian reported, 'The latter club has gained some celebrity of late and possesses several players of no mean order: therefore the match had been looked forward to with great interest'.**(32)**

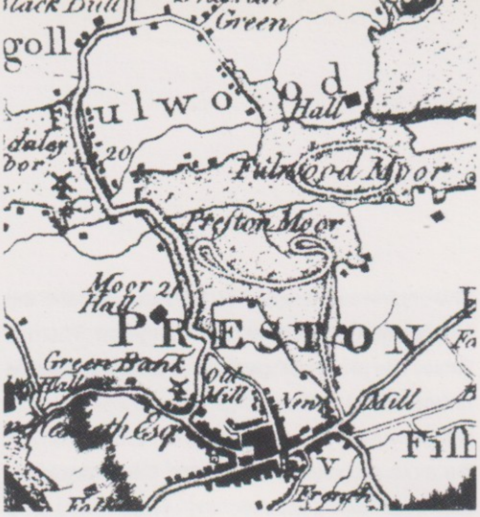
Optimism knew no bounds, and in September the North End took on a second 'United Eleven': **This match originated in the members of the North End club having expressed a desire to play eleven of the best cricketers selected from the clubs on Moor Park. The North End possesses some good players, and as it was known that a good team would be brought together on behalf of the United, a considerable interest was taken in the match by the cricketers of the town.(33)** The other teams included Olympic, New Church, St. Peter's, Alabama and St. Paul's. The club's name continued to cause the press problems, since most places have a north end. In a match report dated 11 September 1867 the familiar 'NECC' was accordingly replaced in the Preston Guardian by 'North End (Preston)'. By the following season however, the Preston Chronicle reported a match between St. Ignatius and 'An Eleven of the Preston North End'. The 'NEP' thus gave way to the 'PNE', and the ancient name for the Preston Moor end of Friargate (one of the town's principal medieval streets), was on the way to becoming known around the world.**(34)**

The new club's greatest asset was, however, its superior organisation. The executive seems to have included many able men, particularly from Preston Olympic. Accordingly the club developed a thriving social organisation. In September, 1867: **The members of the North End CC celebrated the close of the season by a supper, which took place at the Port Admiral Hotel, Lancaster Road. The chair was occupied by Mr. Howarth, and the Master of Ceremonies was Sergeant Thomas Rose. The proceedings were of a very agreeable nature.(35)** As well as acquiring many of the most useful members, the club also absorbed many of the more progressive tendencies. The Preston CC seems to have supported the establishment of a new club in the growing suburbs to the north of the old town. Most games were played on Saturdays, respectable social proceedings were held, the press was carefully nurtured, and players from a wide range of backgrounds came together on match days. Thus the new club was respectable without being exclusive, was ambitious yet willing to adopt new games and activities as fashions changed. Among those to whom the venture was naturally attractive, was William Sudell, the decidedly middle class architect of the club's footballing success in the 1880's and early 1890's.

The patronage of the club's first ball, held in December 1868 in the Assembly Rooms of the Corn Exchange, reveals the immense progress made in just two years. The patrons list boasted J. F. Lease and the officers of the Preston CC, the Right Honourable Marquis of Hartington, the Hon F. A. Stanley, Lieutenant Colonel Goodair of the Volunteers, and the town's two MPs. The event was organised by a committee of ten. Tickets were expensive at 4/6d per couple, with single tickets

THE DEEPDALE LAND HOLDING SEEN FROM MOOR PARK, MAY 2000.

DURING THE SUMMER MONTHS MOOR PARK CONTINUES TO BE THE PLAYGROUND FOR MANY OF PRESTON'S CRICKETERS AS THE TOWN FATHERS OF THE 1860'S HAD ANTICIPATED. (PHOTO: AUTHOR)



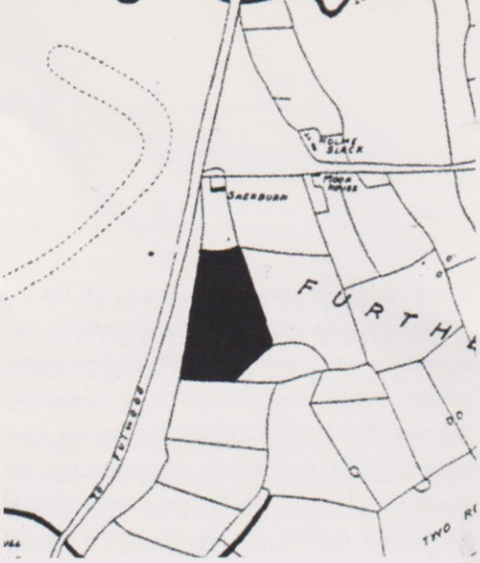
An extract from William Yates's Map of Lancashire, 1786.
The line of the future Deepdale Road can be traced as a track leading north from the junction with Ribbleton Lane. It followed the edge of the enclosed fields, and led to the horse racing track on Preston Moor, a place of recreation since the eighteenth century. The Preston Races were noted for the gambling which accompanied them, and the townspeople had little difficulty in transferring these sporting interests to cricket and football.

2/6d for gentlemen and 2/- for ladies, but despite the services of Mr. J. Norwood's 'excellent Quadrille Band', and dancing 'to the usual hour in the morning', the attendance of 60 was disappointing. Yet the patrons were 'most respectable', and it was hoped the event 'will be even more successful next year'.(36) The ball and an annual meeting or supper, became prominent features of the close season. In 1872 the meeting was again held at the Port Royal Hotel, where 'a substantial supper was partaken of'. With Mr. Naylor in the chair the report and balance sheets were approved, to be followed by the usual loyal and patriotic toasts, and the conscientious drinking of the health of each of the club's officers. A Mr. Parrington then accompanied the North Enders in a series of songs, culminating in the singing of the National Anthem.(37) Despite these achievements, however, one goal still evaded the club: the acquisition of a ground and a home of its own.

DEEPDALE FARM

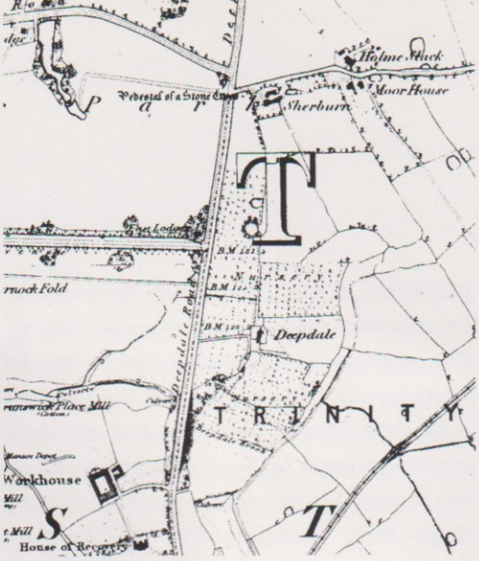
The development of Moor Park in the mid-1860's completed the enclosure and reclamation of Preston Moor. Eighty years earlier, William Yates's map reveals the extent of the former moor, before the construction of a highway (later 'Deepdale Road') along its eastern side. With the development of the park, the way was clear for the Corporation and private land agents to develop what was to become an attractive suburb. Up to 1870 virtually the whole of Deepdale Road north of the Longridge railway line remained open fields, but by the 1880's extensive building work was underway. In 1887, Myres, Veevers & Myers, obtained planning approval for the development of what was to become Preston's celebrated 'Canary Isles', a large estate of eight streets off Deepdale Road, each named after a bird (Plover St., Kingfisher St. etc).(38) The district is frequently mentioned in the ancient town records. In 1656 the Greate Courte Leet found, 'Ye highway on both sides of Debdale-brook to bee insufficient and not passable either for man or horse, cart or carridgs'. Disputes about ownership of the 'Peele Moore' (to the east and south of Deepdale Road) were common. It was reported in 1654 that; **The causey (road) on Peele moore is broken forth and in greate decay, And fforasmuch as the Inhabitants and owners of lands on the moore side (as wee finde by other presentments) have beene accustomed to repair the same Wee desire Mr Maior (the mayor) would call the Ancyent Inhabitants there to give him an account who ought to repaire the same, and what proportions thereof, and to cause itt done accordinglye.** The south end of Deepdale Road was used by brick-makers to dig clay, and the town ducking stool was set up in one of the resulting ponds. Those who broke the town bylaws, for example by selling short measures of Preston ale, were rightly ducked here. In 1653 the bailiffs, George Woodhouse and Roger Sudel, were ordered to keep it in good repair. At the bottom of Deepdale Road, at the 'Churchgate toune end', stood a windmill. The miller was prosecuted in 1669 for 'laying his worthings (waste left over from milling) in fields to ye gt annoyance of the highway'.(39)

The Preston Tithe map gives a clear picture of the field layout between the railway and the line of Skeffington Road in the 1840's. To the east a regular



The Preston Tithe Map

The site of the Old Hey Field is shown blacked out, and the Moor Piece (the modern day car park) lies between it and the line of Deepdale Road. The linear field pattern to the east is indicative of a much older pattern of land enclosure. (Preston Street Guide 1870)



Deepdale in the 1840's

By the mid-nineteenth century Preston had begun to reach northwards. Deepdale Farm can be seen near the centre of this extract, and the old pits discovered during the construction of the Sir Tom Finney stand can be identified to the left of the large T. (First Edition of the 6th Ordnance Survey map of Preston)

pattern of long rectangular fields indicates the older moor enclosures, which by this date were in the hands of private landlords. These gave way in the west to a more irregular pattern on the moor edges, of former common lands owned by the Corporation. Deepdale Farm was thus located on the boundary between the two environments. In a distant posterity, the irregular field pattern which resulted was to dictate the geography of the sports stadium. In the 1840's the Corporation's tenant was James Cookson. Adjacent small holdings of around 20 acres, were owned by Charles Lutwidge, James Blanchard (the tenant was the brewer Matthew Brown), and Hannah Carr (whose tenant was ironically the temperance reformer Joseph Livesey). Cookson farmed 17 acres along the line of Deepdale Road, but separated from it by a long ribbon of moorland. Although this was eventually to become the football ground's car park, it meant that for many years the ground was cut off from Deepdale Road and access was difficult.(40)

The majority of the holding of a farm and six fields, was arable, including the strip of 'moor'. On the tithe schedule the cultivation of the largest field, the five acre Old Hey Field is not given. A sale notice from August 1863 reveals something of the crops grown: **Oats on Sale at Deepdale Farm, Nr. Preston. Mr H. Snape is instructed to offer for sale by Auction. .. About 14 statute acres of excellent Poland oats now growing on the Deepdale Farm, Deepdale Road, Preston, together with nearly 2 acres of clover and Rye Grass.(41)** In January 1868 the Corporation lands were advertised to let:

To Be Let with possession on the
2nd February Next:
8 acres of land, in small lots, for garden ground: a cottage and 2 acres of garden ground: a cottage and garden: 12 acres of grassland, all in Deepdale Road, Preston: ten acres of excellent grass land in the Serpentine Road - Apply to Mr. Garlick, the Corporation Steward, Preston.(42)

In 1871, when Robert Hindle was the tenant, the Corporation decided to move the showground of the Preston Agricultural Show from the Marsh to Deepdale Farm. The event was not altogether a success, despite the erection of 'a grandstand accommodating a very large number of persons'. The choice of locality was particularly criticised, as 'A field north of Deepdale Station, facing the Barracks'. The district was inconvenient, and remote, so that 'visitors from neighbouring places had great difficulty in finding the ground'.(43) Since a single field only is specified, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Hindle's largest field - Old Hey Field - was used. Significantly, before the showground was dismantled it was used for a sports event: **Preston Gymnastic Club - Annual Festival. The second annual festival will take place on Thursday on the ground of the Preston Agricultural Show, Deepdale, and promises in every respect to be a complete success, flat racing, hurdle racing, walking, fencing, single stick, boxing, leaping, pole jumping, gymnastics etc.(44)**

The club made steady progress throughout the early 1870's, establishing itself with Preston Olympic in the second tier of town teams. The Victorian cricket craze was now in full flow, and the press carried details of a vast number of local teams, including one with the name that North End perhaps might have had - Preston West End. The club provided players for representative town matches, and in turn represented Preston in games against its East Lancashire neighbours. The club ball of November 1874 marked a watershed, and its spectacular success may have provided both the incentive and the funds for the club to at last acquire a ground of its own. The secretary, William Naylor produced an impressive list of patrons, and the event was again held in the Assembly Rooms: **The room was, if not gorgeously, at any rate tastefully decorated, and in the manner appropriate to the occasion. The windows were draped with crimson, and along the walls and at the entrance of the room flags and banners were hung, whilst at each end above the cornice, wickets and bats stood out to view ...Many of the members of the club were dressed in cricketing attire, which contrasted agreeably with the more sombre dresses of the other gentlemen and varied hues of the ladies apparel.** The correspondent noted the large preponderance of lively young people in the throng of 300, who kept the dancing up 'with unabated spirit and decorum' until 3 am the following morning. Among the list of the organising committee two men stand out, for they were to preside over the affairs of the PNEFC - Walter Pomfret and William Sudell.**(45)**

The process by which the North End club then proceeded to acquire the ground at Deepdale Farm is not very clear. Naylor recalled that the club 'leased a field', and Catton supplies a date of 21 January 1875 for the transaction, giving the credit for this far-sighted move to William Sudell.**(46)** The Corporation records strangely shed little light on the transaction, indicating that initially a formal lease may not have been taken out, and that the club simply had the regular use of the Old Hey Field as a cricket pitch in the summer months. The minutes of the General Purposes Committee do however record that on 23 August 1876, **The North End Cricket Club applied for the tenancy of a field situate on the east side of Deepdale Road at present occupied by Robert Hindle and offered to pay a yearly rent of £15. Resolved: That the consideration of the application be adjourned.(47)** No further reference is made to the affair until Sudell applied for an extension of the holding in the 1880's.**(48)** The following year the land holding was revised: Hindle was given notice to quit, a new tenancy agreement was worked out, and in September the boundaries of the Corporation's land with those of Mr. Lutwidge were to be adjusted.**(49)** In July 1878 Deepdale Farm burned down, and the tenant was ordered to rebuild it. His neglect to rebuild the barn brought down the committee's wrath upon him.**(50)**

For the start of the 1875-6 season, 'Hon Secretary' William Naylor could proudly advertise the PNECC's opening game, which took place on Saturday 27 March on their new 'Private Ground' at Deepdale.**(51)** The earliest known report of a North End game at Deepdale, comes from the Preston Chronicle of 12 June 1875, 'Preston North End V. Haslingden (with Allen Thewles) On the North End Ground'. North End had reached 154 when rain stopped play 'to the regret of the numerous spectators who expected an exciting game'. The Preston Herald also noted the numerous spectators, and gave the North End team as R. Robinson, R. Green, E. Robinson, J. Parkinson, W. Turner, W. Marchbank, J. Sumner, G. Foley, W. Sudell, J. Hulme, and W. Naylor. Jimmy Catton later recalled the early efforts of the Deepdale pioneers: 'I remember well what an enthusiastic little band these men were. They improved their pitch, and built a small pavilion, while in 1876 they inaugurated an athletic festival'.**(52)**

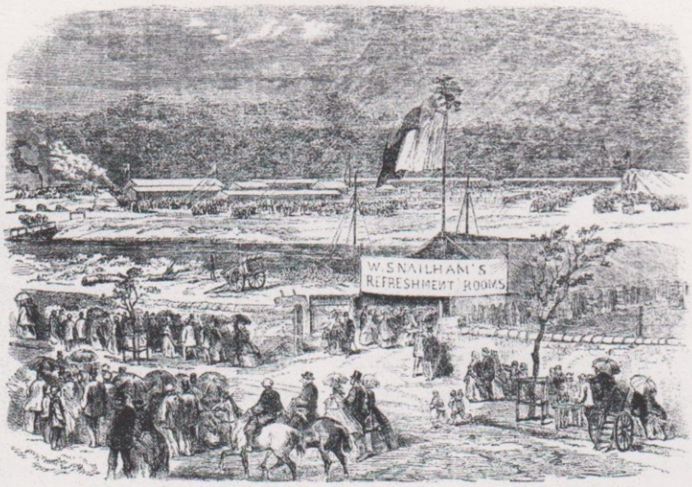
THE NORTH END CRICKET, FOOTBALL, AND ATHLETIC CLUB

Though sporting associations of all kinds proliferated in the town in the decades after 1850, cricket and 'Volunteering' remained the most popular recreations before the coming of Association football.(53) The 11th Lancashire Rifle Regiment, or the 'Preston Volunteers' was formed in 1860, to provide a force of reservists in the event of an invasion from France. Once the immediate threat had passed, the organisation was kept together, and by 1885 the nine companies of the Preston corps had a nominal strength of 905 men, with an active membership of 851.(54) Although it drew its officers from the town's establishment, the rank and file was composed of working class men. The former became something of a 'Who's Who' of the town's elite. Doubtlessly encouraged by his employers, the Goodair family, William Sudell enrolled on 1 August 1874.(55) Having taken his Certificate of Proficiency five years later, Lieutenant Sudell (Regimental Number 597) became the captain of 'B Company' in 1886. On the regimental roll of 1890 he is described as 'Major and Captain', suggesting that in addition to his Company position, he also held a rank on the Battalion's Staff.(56)

For an ambitious young man such as Sudell, membership of the corps gave access to the town's upper class, in addition to providing the range of recreations which all its members enjoyed. The sixth Annual Soirée, in January 1866, was reported to be 'A respectable and successful affair', while the presentation of prizes in 1873 by Lady Skelmersdale was accompanied by a grand ball and 'Assault at Arms' in the Corn Exchange at which, 'The Elite of the town and district' were said to be present.(57) For the men the corps provided healthy training, a break from the pressures of home and work, and a variety of entertainments. In September the entire force marched from their depot in Lord Street to the Marsh. Their subsequent manoeuvres drew praise, but 'the skirmishing was very indifferently done', for as the Preston Chronicle lamented, 'We are sorry to observe that on the route to the marsh some of the men (chiefly district volunteers) left the ranks, and entered public houses to get drink'. In 1876, when Lieut. Col Goodair 'kindly' stood the 150 men drinks during a march to Longton and back, 'There was also on parade Lieut. Col Pedder and Lieut. Sudell'(58)

By the late 1870's, however, a wide range of new organised sports had established itself, indicative of increasing leisure time, and a real improvement in the quality of life in the town. By the mid-1860's the Preston Rowing Club was organising races on the river, and the year 1871 alone saw the Preston Amateur Swimming Festival established at the Saul Street Bath (at which William Sudell was a frequent referee), and a winter skating pond opened on Moor Park. Five years later the town's skating rink was opened in Charnley Street at a cost claimed to be £3,000. This was respectable but entry was expensive at 1/-, with hire of skates a further 6d. Ladies were most welcome, and the public must have been duly impressed by the swift removal by cab of the young lady who had broken her wrist at the opening.(59)

Annual sports festivals had a long history in the town. In May 1860, a prize of £25 was offered for a race around the borough gardens, and the Preston Guild Athletic Sports of 1862 - at which Blondin performed on the high wire - was a great success.(60) A succession of clubs ultimately established the annual Preston Athletic Sports permanently in 1870, using the Deepdale site for the first time as a sports ground the following year.(61) In contrast to the 'disgraceful nude male racing' reported from Bamber Bridge, these were extremely respectable events.(62) Yet working class participation made itself increasingly apparent, and in June 1875 the rising importance of this audience was observed by the Preston Herald at the Blackburn athletics festival, which provided 'a healthy and invigorating source of amusement for the working classes'. The implications of this potential support were clearly not missed by a financially hard-pressed North End committee.(63)



THE PRESTON GUILD FESTIVAL. MEETING OF THE ROYAL NORTH LANCASHIRE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY ON THE HOLMEFIELD, PENWORTHAM.

The Preston Guild Agricultural Show, Penwortham Holme 1862.
During a formal Guild dinner it was found that the tent provided for the gentlemen was not waterproof. Rather than abandon their meal during a severe downpour the Victorian Prestonians calmly raised their umbrellas and continued their meal. (Illustrated London News, 1862)

The club's members (especially Coward and Sumner) were prominent in the Preston Gymnasium Association established in 1867, and in 1876 the Preston Gymnastics and Athletics Club organised the festival in conjunction with the former: **The site of the sports was the NECC club ground, off Deepdale Road, where there was a grand stand in three compartments erected, as well as two refreshment booths, and a spacious course was railed off in the centre of the ground ...The band of the 11th LRV was in attendance.(64)** William Sudell was treasurer, and over 5,000 people attended. In the bicycle and hurdle races the North Enders were well to the fore. Harry Cartmell came second in the 120 yards race, but in the tug-of-war the 'North End Pullbacks' were less successful. The sports were to be held at Deepdale up to the First World War, attracting very large crowds, and contributing handsomely to the club funds.

With the acquisition of Deepdale the club quickly began to exploit its new asset to the full. The development of winter sports was one obvious avenue to follow, and this meant rugby football. Here again the North End club were not pioneers, and in fact faced familiar rivals. Preston's premier rugby club, Preston Grasshoppers, was formed by members of the Preston CC in 1869. Its first ground was on Winckley Meadow, near Penwortham bridge. As 'Perseus' recalled in 1927, **The Grasshoppers came into existence to secure organised open-air recreation, and the inspiration was the outcome of public school life which most of the would-be exponents of the Rugby code had just left.** At the end of the 1875-6 season the Athletic News described 'PFC' as the 'premier club in Lancashire this year'. It had beaten the Manchester and Liverpool teams, and had 60 members including 35 players.**(65)**

Several of the lesser cricket clubs had also developed rugby sides, and Preston Olympic used their existing ground at Penwortham, though this was said to be smaller than that at Deepdale Farm.**(66)** The formation of the North End club had brought about the reformation and revival of Bow Lane cricket. The Christchurch CC was formed in 1868, and from 1874 a series of very successful social events were organised. As in former days it is clear that they enjoyed the support of the wider west end community. In 1875 over 500 people attended their annual tea-party. The new Christchurch Schools were opened in August 1876, shortly before it was reported that the club 'have at length acquired a private ground at Ashton', and had formed a football club.**(67)** Since Dr.Gledhill, subsequently a player with Darwen FC and a great missionary for the round ball game, was a school master here, it is possible that this was the first team to play Association Rules football in Preston.**(68)** In January 1876, a rugby game between Olympic and the Fishwick

Ramblers attracted 'a considerable gathering of spectators'.(69) These rival developments must have been keenly observed at Deepdale. The Ramblers also had their own ground near the cemetery, and by the end of 1876 the town sported a Preston Rovers FC, a Preston West End FC, and at last a Preston North End FC.

At the start of the 1876 cricket season the club was said to be flourishing: **There are about 140 members connected with it; it has a private ground and pavilion; the ground has recently been relayed by an experienced hand; and as good a wicket as need be can now be pitched.(70)** The Preston Herald went even further, drawing favourable comparison to West Cliff, the home of the Preston club itself. Changes had also occurred in the club's executive. A number of writers have suggested that the move to Deepdale was engineered by William Sudell, and it was he who presided over the club's next annual general meeting on 6 September. This was to herald further changes to the club, and clearly established the ascendancy of the Sudell regime which was to control the club's affairs until 1893. After the usual business: **It was also carried that a football club be started in connection with the NECC, and that it be confined to the members, and, upon it being put to the meeting, upwards of 30 members gave up their names.** Three weeks later Sudell also took the chair at the annual club supper at the Deepdale Hotel, and after scrutinising the teams results he announced 'that they were getting up a Rifle Volunteer company in connection with the NECC'. Again, interested members gave in their names.(71)

On 4 October the second meeting of the football section was held in the Deepdale Hotel. The club colours were to be orange and black; J. Singleton was to be captain, with J. Wilson 'sub-captain'. Both were members of a committee of eight, which also included J. Sumner, T. Wadeson, W. Sharples, H. Cartmell, J. Hulme and T. Parkinson. The members were to meet for their first practice on the following Saturday.(72) Just a fortnight later on Saturday 21 October the club played Preston Olympic at Deepdale. In a game marred by a strong wind Olympic won by three tries to two touch downs. The following week the first away game was played at Penwortham: **There were a good many spectators on the field, including several ladies. The game, after some spirited play, resulted in a victory for the Rovers by a goal and a touch down, the NE securing a try and a dead ball.(73)** Victory came on 11 November, away to Alston College: **This is the first match the North End has won ...Some excellent play was shown by both clubs ... especially by the Northenders, who have now got hold of a good knowledge of the rules of the game, besides having got into the habit of playing with each other.(74)** T. Wadeson, H. Cartmell and R. Green were singled out for special praise, but the identity of the scorer of the club's first 'goal' was not reported. Following a game with the Fishwick Ramblers at the end of a dramatic month, the players adjourned to Mr. Aspden's Cemetery Hotel where the evening was spent in singing etc: 'during which a few remarks were made by Mr. Sudell'. Hospitable traditions were quickly established, and Mr. Poole of the Deepdale Hotel looked forward to the return match. The club's athletic background had served it well, and it had been accordingly assisted onto its new course by a team composed of, 'fine muscular young men', who quickly proved an attraction for the ladies.(75)

ASSOCIATION FOOTBALL: THE NORTH ENDERS SEE THE LIGHT

The move to Deepdale saw the club begin to expand on all fronts, but this remarkable expansion was also accompanied by greater financial risk, and in the years of their pomp Sudell and the North End executive frequently looked back to the difficult periods it had passed through at this time. The Athletics festival of 1878 was a huge success, with 'great multitudes on the ground' thronging a 'capacious grand stand'.(76) Perhaps 8,000 people attended the event, and the North Enders were well to the fore on the organising committee. As treasurer, William Sudell was well placed to see at first hand the income such crowds could generate. The 1878-9 rugby season started on 21 September, 'in the presence of a numerous company', and the club was able to run two teams of local representative standard. The cricket club was also making great strides forward, and in November a meeting of the PNECC General Committee at the John o' Gaunt public-house, picked Henry Butler of Nottingham as its professional from the 26 applications it had received.

The remarkable events of October 1878 reveal the extent to which the club's facility for innovation now outstripped that of its respective rivals, Preston CC and Preston Grasshoppers RFC. Within a few years this ability to organise, to attract popular support, and to try new things, was to carry the club to the pinnacle of the sporting world. On the fifth, the Preston Chronicle carried the following advertisement:

First Grand Football Match of the Season,
This Day,
NORTH END v. EAGLEY.
On North End ground, Deepdale Road. Kick off at 3 o' clock.

This was to be the club's first recorded game of Association football, and typically 'It was thought defeat for North End was a foregone conclusion'. Yet 'A more even and hotly contested a game was never witnessed on this ground before ...The play of both sides cannot be too highly praised ...Score Eagley one goal, North End nil'. The team was composed of the leading players from the rugby squad, and comprised; W. Turner (Goal Keeper), Sudell, Sefton, Charnley, T. Wadeson, J. Wadeson, Miller, T. Parkinson, Dodgson, Green and H. Cartmell (Captain).**(77)**

The remainder of the season was played under the rugby code, and the team met with considerable success. The same month Blackburn was vanquished 'by the formidable score of 5 goals, 10 tries, 9 touchdowns, to 1 try', and a game against Little Lever attracted a 'large concourse of spectators', to Deepdale Farm. The ground now possessed a Pavilion End, and the club was reported to have 'attained a high reputation in the football world'.**(78)** Yet the most significant indication of a bright future came with the decision to play a pioneering match by floodlight. A game earlier in the month, between Chorley and Swinton had attracted a gate of 5,000 (paying 6d and 1/-), but had been a failure: 'As the lights were being raised upon the poles they went out, owing, it is supposed to the rods through which the fluid passed, getting damp and unmanageable'. The crowd was thus left in the dark, and did not get their money back!**(79)** On 26 October the Preston Chronicle could proudly announce, that 'the very novel but highly interesting mode of playing football by electric light will be introduced in Preston on Thursday night next'.

This first large-scale demonstration of the efficacy of electric lighting in the town, marks a historic stage in the emergence of modern Preston. Two large crowds gathered, one inside the enclosure to see the game, and another on Moor Park to watch the demonstration (and as much of the game as they could see), for nothing. North End kicked off against Preston Rovers at 8pm, and the apparatus of Messrs Park & Bibby of Manchester produced a 'wonderful electric light in the darkness of the night' over Deepdale: **The electrical engineers ...Seemed to think that two lights placed in opposite directions of the field would be sufficient for the purpose. But this proved a remarkable failure, and the lights were totally inadequate to effect the desired results. Some parts of the 'ring' in which the game was played appeared in comparative darkness; and whilst the spectators were totally at a loss to know what was going on when the ball was driven in those dark directions, the players themselves seemed enveloped in a 'fog' of bewilderment.(80)** Although North End won the game easily, 'expressions of disappointment burst forth from all sides', and the experiment 'fell little short of complete failure'. The electricians pointed to an accident to their apparatus, but both Association football and the electric light had been pioneered at Deepdale within a month of each other.

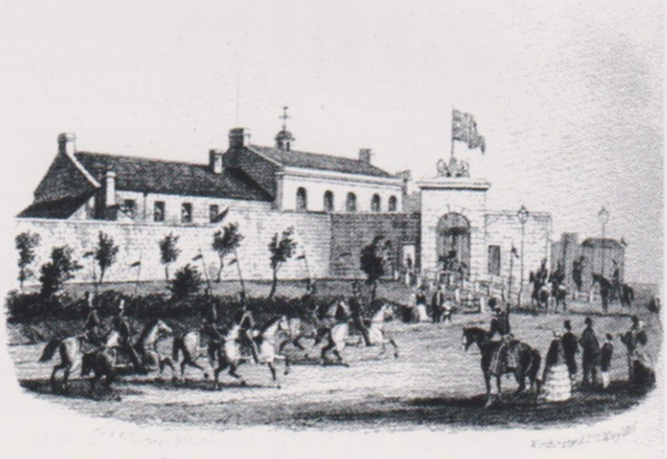
The general meeting of the North End Cricket & Football Club for the 1879-80 season was held at the Deepdale Hotel in March 1879. Walter Pomfret took the chair, with Harry S. Cartmell secretary. Although the club now enjoyed the services of a cricket professional, had a club house and ground, an annual Sports Festival, a Grand Ball, and a thriving rugby side, the membership strenuously resisted paying a realistic price for their sport. So that though the subscription for new members was increased to 5/-, fees for existing members were to remain unchanged. This was to prove a continuing source of serious financial weakness, and ultimately to contribute to the collapse of the Sudell regime. The pressure was on the committee to provide events that would cover costs. The football statisticians reported that the football club had played 15 matches, winning 10, losing three ('1 Association'), and drawing two: 'They have scored 23 goals, 43 tries, 54 touchdowns, 5 dead balls; and they have had scored against them 2 goals (1 Association and 1 disputed), 6 tries, and 23 touchdowns'.(81)

An impressive feature of the Athletic Sports that year was a 2,000 seater 'spacious grand stand' erected on the west side of the field. Such facilities allowed the organisers to charge a higher entrance fee. The start of October marked the change over of sports, and North End quickly registered their first rugby win over Preston Olympic. The return match was to provide a significant indication of future trends, for the North End side was strengthened by three 'imported' men from Little Lever. On 29 November the experiment with Association football was repeated:

North End v. Halliwell

This match, played under the Lancashire Association Rules ...resulted in a victory for the Halliwell team by one goal to nil. The North End were labouring under the disadvantage of being strangers to the game, but the small score tends to show that their opponents found them no cheap adversaries'.(82) The North End team was listed positionally for the first time, and consisted of: Goal; Naylor, Fullbacks; Turner & Sefton, Half Backs Calderbank & Cookson, Right Wing; Wilkie & Parkinson, Left Wing Bateman & Charnley, Centres; Sudell & Dodgson. Harry Cartmell was the umpire for the 'PNE'.

At this point the rising tide of the Association game swept in from East Lancashire, and the orderly development of sports at Deepdale Farm was pushed permanently into a new direction.



A PARADE AT FULWOOD BARRACKS, C1850.

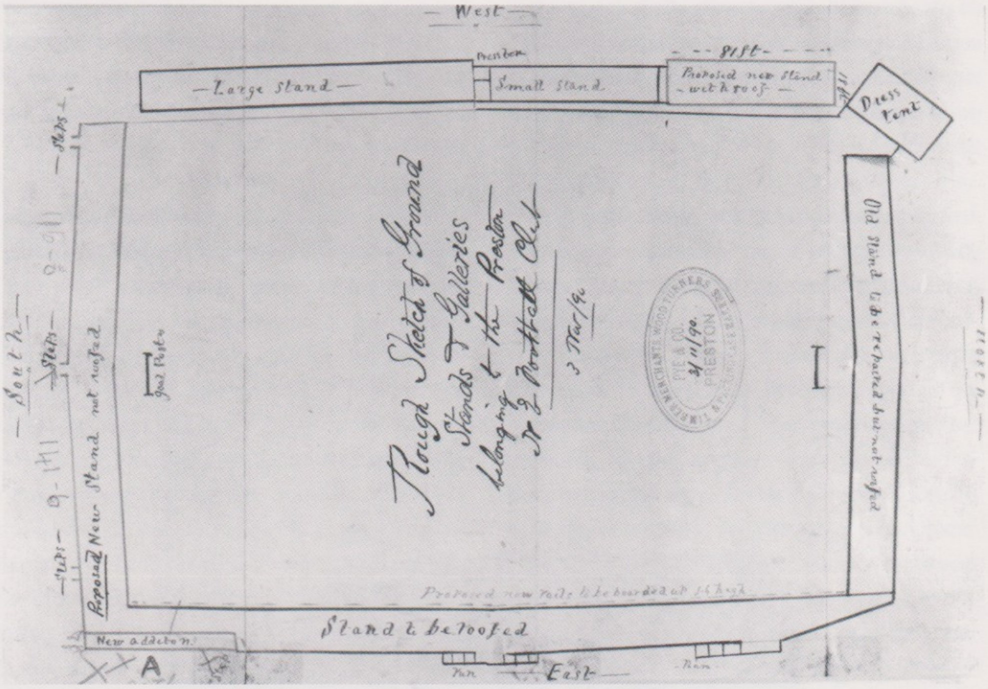
THE ARMY AND NAVY WERE SOURCES OF GREAT NATIONAL PRIDE TO THE VICTORIANS, AND THE ARMY OFFICERS STATIONED AT FULWOOD HELD A HIGH PLACE IN PRESTON SOCIETY. (CHARLES HARDWICK'S 'HISTORY OF PRESTON')

chapter

2

the rising SUN

The growth of interest in the round ball game at Deepdale must be seen in the context of its remarkable development in east Lancashire during the 1870's. The modern game really dates from the formation of the Football Association in 1863, and is an extremely gentle and thus largely unrecognisable variant of the ancient game.


West
Press box
Large stand
Small stand
81 ft
Proposed new stand with roof
Dress Tent
Old stand to be repaired but not roofed
North
South
Steps
Proposed New Stand not roofed
Goal Posts
Rough Sketch of Ground Stands & Galleries belonging to the Preston N. E. Football Club
3 Mar/90
Stand to be roofed
New addition
A
East

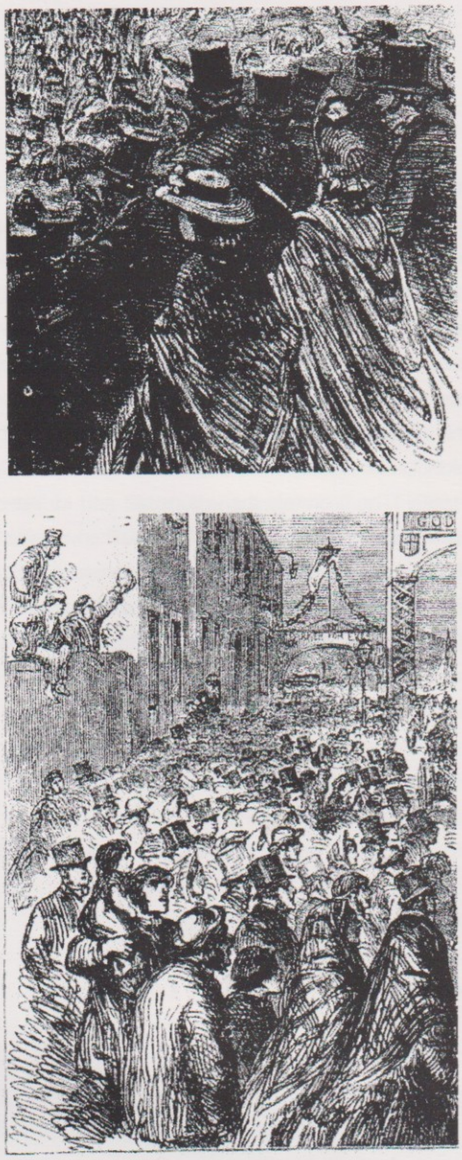
A plan of Deepdale 1890

Most of the proposed developments would not come about until the twentieth century. The ground was open on all sides apart from the two narrow stands along the west side. Mr. Sudell's 'Dress Tent' - a rather substantial building that seems to have formed the back-drop to many of the early team photographs, dominated the north west corner, on the site of the modern entrance to the National Football Museum. Sudell's numerous plans to develop a modern ground came to nothing, and it was fortunate that gates before the Great War were small by modern standards. The narrow terracing along the north end of the ground indicates the extensive scale of the development of the Spion Kop in the early 1920's. (National Football Museum)

Successive kings of Scotland and England tried to ban it from their realms; Edward II forbade it in 1314, but 25 years later Edward III had to repeat the exercise again to little avail. In 1572 it was famously decreed that since the playing of 'Foteball' within the City of London, 'gave no pleasure, but beastlie furie and violence', any players captured were to be thrown into prison. In the seventeenth century the sober town fathers of Bolton banned the game, and it is likely that their fellows in Preston, (who had forbidden people from the sinful activity of sitting on their front door steps on the Sabbath), took a similar view.**(1)**

The popularity of the game in England during the 1870's shifted the balance away from the public schools and the south-east. For in the north football quickly developed as a strongly working class game. The 1847 Ten Hours Bill reduced Saturday working to eight hours, while the 1850 Factory Act had the practical effect of stopping work at 2pm on Saturdays. Large numbers of working class men were thus released from the mills on a Saturday afternoon. Greater leisure time and better public transport lay behind the founding of the majority of English clubs between 1870 and 1900. In Lancashire, Turton played under Harrow Rules in 1871, but adopted the rules of the London FA in 1874, becoming members of the FA in 1876. In the same year that North End adopted rugby football, Turton agreed to play Darwen if the latter would not 'use hands'. Other early clubs include Blackburn Rovers (1875), Blackburn Olympic (1876), and Bolton Wanderers (1877: founded as Christ Church in 1874). The Rovers club was formed at a meeting called by John Lewis and Arthur Constantine, at the St. Leger public house on 5 November 1875. Seventeen 'educated men' attended, mostly former Blackburn Grammar School pupils. During their first season they played at Oozehead, a ground which featured a cow pit covered by boards and turfed over, and gate receipts totalled 6s-6d.**(2)**

These efforts were brought together by the Lancashire Football Association, which was to supervise the growth of the professional clubs up to the formation of the Football League in 1888. The



Sections of the crowd at the 1862 Preston Guild.

The class basis of society in Mid-Victorian England is revealed by this pair of details from engravings. A very respectable group including ladies in fine dresses, is watching the laying of the foundation stone of the Preston Town Hall, while a more lively throng is cheering the passing of one of the Guild processions. Such class differences naturally transferred themselves to the town's sporting activities. The North End club's great success was in crossing such divides, and remaining open to new ideas and initiatives. From available indicators it is clear that the Deepdale crowd was never simply the working class at play but represented a fair spectrum of society, even extending to those prepared to pay three shillings to watch their football. In this respect the club can be seen as an improving and progressive influence. Similarly the Preston t-totallers could claim with some justification that North End emptied the public houses, leading even the ale house keepers to join their clientele watching the game. (Illustrated London News)

Blackburn and Bolton clubs met on 28 September 1878 to 'consider the advisability of forming a Lancashire Football Association' - just a week before North End played their pioneer game against Eagley. In June 1879, the rules for the LFA cup were drawn up, and on 16 August North End (of Bolton) were the first team out of the hat! At the end of November, Preston North End played their second Association game, and joined the LFA on 19 June 1880: "The secretary then proposed and Mr.Yates seconded the following clubs as new members viz. Blackburn Olympic, 'Blackpool', Preston North End". The latter paid their 10s-6d subscription, but for several years did not bother to attend the AGM, even though the LFA formed a Preston sub-district in 1881.**(3)**

The Preston newspapers followed the achievements of the Darwen and Blackburn clubs in the FA Cup in great detail, for important issues of regional and class pride were at stake. There can be little doubt that the social prestige, which such success brought, was to be a major spur to the development of the game at Deepdale. In 1879, Darwen took the Old Etonians to a second replay in the 4th round at the Oval; in 1881 they got as far as the Semi-final, losing to the Old Carthusians at the Oval. The Rovers reached the Final in 1882, but lost 1-0 to the Old Etonians. Blackburn Olympic then became the first northern club to win the Cup on 31 March 1883 - the year that saw the great drive to build a really first rate team at Preston.**(4)**

Six months after North End had joined the LFA one match caused a great sensation, and provoked much debate in the Preston papers; 'The Great Football Match - Extraordinary Scenes - The Match Broken Up In Disorder'. A tense derby between Rovers and Darwen attracted a gate of 'upwards of 10,000', and gate receipts of over £250. The Preston Guardian looked on aghast. Something was stirring among the working people: **The game of football seems to have completely possessed a section of the community ...What other event could gather such a crowd willing to pay 6d each. This new attachment to an old love ...is somewhat too ardent, we suspect, to continue long in its present form, and we question if it would be well for the community that it should absorb so much time and money. Nothing can be more healthy than outdoor exercise, but spectators get little of it, and it is not good for them that they should, while simply looking on, get so excited.(5)** A year later another dark aspect of the game was scrutinised following a Blackburn - Accrington clash: 'Vile abuse was heaped on the Rovers ...epithets were expressed not at all in keeping with a friendly fight at our great winter game'.**(6)**

'TO FOSTER A LOVE OF ATHLETIC SPORTS ON THE WORKING CLASSES'

North End's membership of the LFA, in June 1880, marked a critical step in the club's adoption of the game. It was indicative of the club's long-term commitment to Association football, and suggests that its formal adoption, proposed by Harry Cartmell and seconded by Tom Charnley (subsequently the first company secretary and Football League secretary 1902-33), took place about this time and not on the eve of the Blackburn Rovers game in March 1881. Though club members took part in the early trials, during the 1880-81 season a team of recognisably more specialist players emerged. This is reflected in the side which played Astley Bridge in November 1880, for only Parkinson, Cookson and Bateman had played in the Eagley or Halliwell matches. Though the match ended 1-1, North Enders claimed a victory of sorts on the grounds of a disallowed goal. The club's first cup run in the Lancashire Cup ended with a first round 6-0 thrashing by Turton FC. A second game in January 1881 ended in an 8-1 defeat at Deepdale, though 'the ground was in a very sloppy condition'. The club's first 'big match' came in March: 'Blackburn Rovers First Team v. North End. NE ground - Kick off at 3pm. All the celebrated Blackburn players will play'. The Preston Chronicle could find little consolation in a 16-0 defeat beyond the play of Cartmell and Bateman 'but not being properly supported, their isolated efforts were useless, and the rest of the team, so far as football is concerned, have yet to learn that unity is strength'.(7)

The club's second season, 1881-2, showed that many of these weaknesses still remained. It opened with a 7-0 defeat at Withnell, due in part to tactical naiveté and a lack of preparation. For 'when it is taken into account that this was the first time the visitors had been in the field this season, and that the home team is kept in practice during the whole summer, this result will not appear so overwhelming'. Indeed, 'With a little practice the North End players would become a first rate team ...What is wanted now is skill at passing, and judgement at making shots at goal'.(8) At the end of November 1881, the Rovers second eleven beat them 4-0 when North End arrived five men short, and during the following March the team again turned up with just six men at Lostock Hall. Five local lads quickly offered their services, 'but the Lostock Hall club, being reinforced with a contingent from a Blackburn club, came off the victors of a most uninteresting game by 5-0'.(9) In the Lancashire Cup, a promising run into the last 16 with ties against Bootle and 'Stacksteads Working Men's', ended in an 8-0 defeat at Turton. The first Preston Guild football match saw a further reverse (11-2) at the hands of Cup Finalists Blackburn Rovers. The club, however, tentatively established itself as the premier soccer team in Preston, beating the eleven man defence of Fishwick Ramblers 12-0 in September 1882.(10)

Important lessons could thus be drawn from all the games in the club's first two seasons as a dedicated football club. All the successful teams in the north

BARBER&
BARBER&

The Preston and Longridge Railway Company's bridge on Deepdale Road, June 2000.

The building in the centre stands on the site of the original Deepdale Hotel, Headquarters of the North End club. Before construction of Mr. Sudell's Dressing Tent players would change here and take a cab down the road to the ground. During one journey the visiting goalkeeper asked a friend to point Belger out to him so that he could give him 'special attention' on the pitch. The wrong player was pointed out - with unfortunate consequences for the custodian when the 'smasher' discovered the reception he had in mind for him. The hotel was demolished to make way for an improved railway station, and the extent of the company's land holding is still marked in the pavement on the opposite side of Deepdale Road. (photo: author) employed non-local players and thus found remuneration for them. The club must monopolise any local talent. The tactical side of the game is of paramount importance, and it is important to keep a squad together season on season, to allow the players to integrate their game with each other and to maintain fitness. To support the cost of running even the semi-professional game and to maximise support, local competitors must be suppressed, and a local monopoly established. Overall the club must be instilled with discipline, both on and off the pitch. What was not so apparent at the time, however, was the related need for financial discipline and probity. In the long run this was to bring about the club's great ungluing.

During the first two seasons of football at Deepdale all the club's sporting interests seem to have prospered. The 1882 Athletic Sports - the 'Preston Guild Sports' - attracted their largest gate to date of over 8,600, and North End players did well in the events. The 'annual reunion' of the 'North End Cricket and Football Association' was held in the club's 'headquarters', the Deepdale Hotel. Upwards of 50 gentlemen were present and after the toast of, 'The North End Cricket, Football and Athletics Club', Mr. Sudell president of the association took the chair. The cricket team had done well, losing just a single game, 'and if they could not compare themselves with the West Cliff eleven, they could rank as a very good second'. Yet due to pressure from the footballing members only ten of 17 planned games had actually taken place. He now saw little future for 'the rugby method'. No-one who heard his speech could be left in any doubt as to where North End's future lay. Since cricket and rugby had not paid their way, the club would ride the football boom.

North End were the pioneers of the Association game in Preston, Sudell claimed. No team nearer than Blackburn could now compete with them, no Preston team 'stood any chance'. Having beaten Witton, Lancashire Cup Semi finalists, he hoped that, 'by unity and enthusiasm', they might compete for the trophy themselves (applause). After describing at length the 'serious pecuniary losses on previous occasions', which he blamed on the club's low membership fees, Sudell noted that they had 'done better recently'. He ended on a high note: **'The principles on which the club was founded were to foster a love of athletic sports on the operative classes, and he hoped that feeling would always animate them' (applause).(11)** Harry Cartmell, the club secretary, said that some 30 fixtures were arranged for the first team, and 17 for the second in the coming season. Significantly, among the former were to be two games against Scottish clubs 'of good repute'. After the usual singing, during which 'The Larboard Watch' was much appreciated, the meeting ended with the National Anthem. The die was now cast.

THE MISSIONARY AND THE EDUCATOR

The North End club's conversion to football was thus a gradual process, and it clearly took time for William Sudell and his associates to win over the rest of the club. When the break with the cricketers came, probably in the 1883-4 season, it was not to be without much bitterness. Of the future executives, Woodhouse accepted it, and Walter Pomfret rejoined the club after a year's absence. It is clear that prior to the real 'take off' of football at Deepdale, in the season 1882-3, the game had been nursed along by a fairly small group of people, and that specific individuals played a prominent part. Once the football craze developed the club was thus well placed to exploit the game's potential in Preston to the full. Who were these missionaries and visionaries? An eccentric chemist - cum schoolmaster - cum physician - cum lawyer; a Scottish mechanic living in Leyland; a man of destiny whose obsession was to bring about his own Golgotha; and a familiar chorus of the 'usual suspects' from Preston.

Some light is shed on 'the little band who did the pioneer work in North End football', by a series of articles and letters which appeared in the Lancashire Daily Post at the height of the First World War. The first footballing wise man suitably came from the east - of Lancashire - and had Scottish connections. James Gledhill was the second son of William Gledhill, a coachbuilder. He and his wife Mary had five children, and in 1871 were living in Tulketh Terrace, Preston. James was then 17, indicating that he was born in 1854. A fellow teacher recalled that he was originally a teacher at Christ Church School, before becoming a 'chemist'. From this occupation he moved on to Glasgow University to study medicine. While here he played for Partick Alliance, a team of 'hefty men, all good players, who played for the love of the game. But most of them were married, and their wives objections finally compelled the club to cease'. Based in the area once more, he 'was a leading player for Darwen FC at the time of Fergie Suter'. A forward, who played under an assumed name, he 'was tall, wore a beard, played in long white trousers and always had his braces over his jersey'.

Gledhill was a gifted speaker, and became something of a missionary 'for the game outside Darwen by his lectures on its possibilities'. Furthermore: **Darwen people claim that it was the outcome of the first football address that he delivered in Preston, showing by blackboard illustrations what might be done by a team of selected experts, that led the late Mr. W. Sudell, who was present, to form his great side that revolutionised the game.** Though 'Perseus' was frankly sceptical, subsequent correspondence suggested that there might be some truth in the story. In 1936 he again referred to Gledhill, adding that meetings were held in the Deepdale Hotel, and that he 'came over specially to direct instruction'. His curriculum vitae was not yet complete, however, and Deepdale's 'Great Doctor' was reported to have eventually moved on into the legal profession.**(12)**

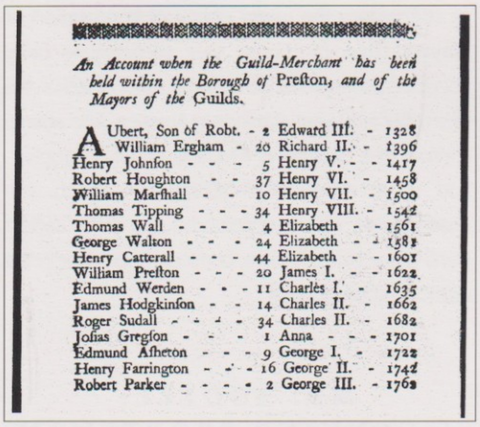
The identity of the club's first Scottish player is less controversial, for James McDade, 'turned up in Preston and began to educate the locals'. The 1881 census describes him as a 26-year-old tinsmith, living at 44 Gilbert Street in Fishwick. Perhaps originating from Neilston near Glasgow, McDade was ultimately to father 16 children by his two marriages, and by 1891 had settled in Herbert Street, Leyland. Here he found work with the Leyland Steam Motor Company, and having assisted the growth of North End, he then lent his services to the future Leyland Motors by designing a steam valve used in the first 'Leyland' vehicles. At the outset he was one of the club's best players, he turned out in the game against Astley Bridge in November 1880, and was a member of the team through 1881 and 1882. He was usually central to the play, and was aptly described as 'a schemer'. During a Lancashire Cup game against Bootle in 1881, 'A corner kick eventually falling to the Prestonians McDade officiated, and planted well in goal. Cartmell was instrumental in heading it through the posts'. Sudell, in goal had nothing to do, but could not prevent the Rev. A. W. Keeley equalising on half-time. Since he seems to have been coming to the end of his career, McDade's main influence, was to be as a coach and strategist.**(13)**

He was the subject of yet another newspaper debate in 1916. From this 'Perseus' could conclude that McDade was a good player at half back and full back, who knew the game extremely well, but who was not up to the standard that the later Scots developed. He was however, acknowledged as one of the club's formative thinkers: **His full influence on the team was not seen for a year or two, but there is little doubt that he had much to do with the shaping of North End's early days, and probably of suggesting the wider policy of importation of players.** This, of course, was ultimately to bring about the professional game. A Mr. Lamb, back in the town after a 30-year absence in America, was able to confirm this, describing McDade as an 'instructor', and so in effect, North End's first coach. His descendants, who thus comprise one of the earliest clans of the North Enders, continue to prosper in the district and beyond.**(14)**

MR. SUDELL: A GENUINE SPORTSMAN

The central figure in these developments was William Sudell. Families of Sudells were well established in the cloth trades of both Preston and

Blackburn by the sixteenth century. In 1555 William Sudell of Preston was described as 'a man of grete wealth and substance'. Another William Sudell was three times mayor of Preston, and his grandson Roger was Guild Mayor in 1682.**(15)** Though describing themselves as 'gentlemen', they were, as Alan Crosby has demonstrated, in fact prosperous woollen drapers.**(16)** William Sudell was proud of his link with a Guild Mayor, but his immediate forebears were of more modest means. His father is listed in the Preston Guild Rolls as a 'warehouse man' (1842), and his grandfather as a 'weaver' (1822). His great grandfather, and great great grandfather were both shoemakers (1762, 1742, 1722).**(17)** The 1851 census reveals Sudell's parents to have been relatively well-off. His father was then 43 years of age, and his occupation of 'warehouseman (Cotton)', suggests that he was probably the manager of a depot or trading house of one of the large Preston firms. Sudell and his wife Jane lived at 19 Oxford Street with their four children, of whom William was the youngest, aged eight months. The neighbours were prosperous tradesmen and shopkeepers. The family were Anglicans, and William had been christened at Preston parish church on 1 September 1850. William Sudell was thus born into a family whose historic links with Preston could not be bettered, and he knew it; all quite fitting for the founder of the Preston North End Football Club.**(18)**



An Account when the Guild-Merchant has been held within the Borough of Preſton, *and of the Mayors of the* Guilds.

AUbert, Son of Robt.	2	Edward III.	1328
William Ergham	20	Richard II.	1396
Henry Johnſon	5	Henry V.	1417
Robert Houghton	37	Henry VI.	1458
William Marſhall	10	Henry VII.	1500
Thomas Tipping	34	Henry VIII.	1542
Thomas Wall	4	Elizabeth	1561
George Walton	24	Elizabeth	1581
Henry Catterall	44	Elizabeth	1601
William Preſton	20	James I.	1622
Edmund Werden	11	Charles I.	1635
James Hodgkinſon	14	Charles II.	1662
Roger Sudall	34	Charles II.	1682
Joſias Gregſon	1	Anna	1701
Edmund Aſheton	9	George I.	1722
Henry Farrington	16	George II.	1742
Robert Parker	2	George III.	1762

A List of the Guild Mayors of Preston (1782)

William Sudell was proud of his long Preston pedigree, and claimed descent from Roger Sudell who held the office in 1682.

Sudell was educated privately in Cheshire, where his love of a wide range of sports was allowed to develop. Returning to Preston he obtained a position in the Goodair cotton mills. Unbeknown to them, the Goodair family were, from time to time, to assist the finances of Preston North End. John Goodair (1808-73) was perhaps the most enlightened of the Preston cotton lords. When only 13 years of age he literally 'found himself in the street' when his father's business in Chorley failed. By the age of 22 he was manager of a factory in Preston, and in 1836 he set himself up in the cotton trade there, 'a self made man, the architect of his own fortune'. In fact, his wife's decisiveness was a major influence in the success of the firm.**(19)** Goodair was quick to see the potential in young Sudell, who was promoted quickly in the family business: 'He became remarkably adept at figures, earned the reputation of a lightning calculator, and is said to have been able to add simultaneously three columns of figures'.**(20)** From cashier he rose to mill manager, moving from No.2 Silverdale Terrace in St.Thomas's Road, to No.2 St.George's Terrace in Deepdale Road, and on to Moor House, Holme Slack in the process. The census reveals that by 1891 he could afford to have two servants living-in and to keep a private carriage on his salary of £500 a year.**(21)**

Sudell soon became almost a member of the family. Though only 23, 'Mr. Sudell' was specifically listed among the mourners at John Goodair's funeral, and when his son, Col. W. H. Goodair, died in 1886 Captain Sudell was described as his 'confidential manager', and had actually been with him when he had died suddenly.**(22)** Through this Goodair link Sudell had acquired rank in the Preston Volunteers. After the founder's death Sudell's role in the business grew, and he was solely responsible for very large sums of money. The firm had funds of over £60,000, and operated 65,000 spindles and 1,300 looms at Brookfield and Peel Mills. With the death of Col. Goodair all restraint on him was gone, and he was left in complete control of cash, cheques and the firm's accounts. In June 1893 the company's bankers asked that a receiver be appointed, and in March 1895 William Sudell was charged with 'Embezzling various sums of money and falsifying the books of the firm'. Though the accused protested that he had begun to 'cook the books' only in 1890, the full truth will never be known. What is certain however, is that his defence that the funds had been used to further the interests of Preston North End FC, carried no weight with the magistrates. All this lay in the distant future in 1883, and no hint of scandal yet darkened William Sudell's rising career.**(23)**

A free trade Gladstonian Liberal, Sudell was among the first to achieve social recognition and national acclaim through football. He consistently claimed to have joined the North End cricket club on 3 August 1867, but continued to play for his original club, the Alexandra, after this date. In August 1868, for example, he made 19 in Alexandra's total of 129 runs against the North End second XI. A steady team man, and former captain of the Alexandra, Sudell quickly made his mark on the new club. As treasurer of many club events, he is usually credited with the far-sighted move to Deepdale, and supported the subsequent expansion into a new range of sports. He was vice-president of the town's cycling and swimming clubs, and was said to be one of the fastest skaters. When a boy he had skated along the frozen canal to Lancaster. All his family of three sons and four daughters 'apart from the two youngest can ride cycles', and son Charlie led the cycle procession in the Guild of 1882. He was an active gymnast, and a leading organiser of the North End Sports. On the eve of his greatest triumph, it was said of him: **He is generous and open-handed to a degree, courteous and urbane, a genuine sportsman, and his name with the fame of the club is synonymous with the Association game the world over.(24)**

WILLIAM SUDELL IN HIS POMP, ON THE EVE OF SECURING THE DOUBLE 1889.

SUDELL WAS THE DRIVING FORCE BEHIND THE MOVE TO ESTABLISH PROFESSIONALISM IN FOOTBALL. LATER ACCUSED OF EMBEZZLING LARGE SUMS FROM HIS EMPLOYERS, HIS DEFENCE THAT SUCH FUNDS HAD BEEN USED FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE PRESTON NORTH END CLUB CUT NO ICE WITH THE MAGISTRATES. WHATEVER THE TRUTH OF HIS CASE, HIS OFFENCE HAS MEANT THAT HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD GAME HAS GONE LARGELY UNRECOGNISED. HE IS THE CLUB'S MOST SUCCESSFUL MANAGER (UP TO THE PRESENT TIME), HAVING BROUGHT THE FA CUP AND TWO LEAGUE CHAMPIONSHIPS TO DEEPDALE. IN LESS SUCCESSFUL SEASONS HE STILL MANAGED TO REACH THE CUP FINAL, TWO SEMI-FINALS, AND TO SECURE THE LEAGUE RUNNERS-UP SPOT THREE TIMES. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

NUMBER 2, ST GEORGE'S TERRACE, DEEPDALE ROAD.

AS WILLIAM SUDELL'S SPECTACULAR RISE PROGRESSED HE COULD AFFORD FOR HIS FAMILY TO MOVE INTO EVER MORE FASHIONABLE PROPERTY. THIS WAS THEIR HOME IN THE EARLY 1880'S. (PHOTO: AUTHOR)

A ONE MAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT: INSIDE THE SUDELL REGIME

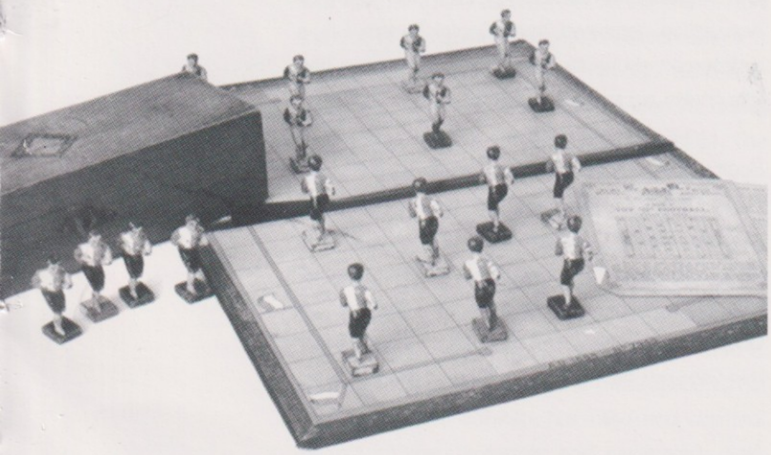
The organising committee had been one of the strengths of the old North End cricket club, and despite some short-lived resentment when the old game was forsaken, several members went on to serve on the 'North End executive'. Since William Sudell was the increasingly dictatorial 'front man', the committee's role in the football club's development has been largely ignored. By 1888-9 the committee was composed of former players and long-serving club members, men as closely involved in the rise of the club as Sudell himself. Thomas Banks had been a committee man since 1878 and the treasurer for six years: **During which time thousands of pounds have passed through his hands, and the books and accounts of the club are under his supervision posted with a neatness, regularity, and accuracy, not even surpassed by any large business establishment.** He had been an early member, and was a prominent cricketer in the late 1860's, but had 'never trusted himself to the dangers and delights of football'. Fred Dewhurst was the only player on the committee. An assistant master at the town's Catholic College, he had been a member since 1882, becoming secretary in 1885. The match secretary, J. Nuttall, had joined the club 'as a youth', and claimed to have won over £200 in prize money running in quarter mile races.

John Woods, 'the third son of Councillor Woods', was another athlete, and had been for many years a treasurer of the Preston Sports. Aged 38, and a member of the gymnastics, cycling and swimming clubs, he was a long serving member of the North End club. Though primarily another quarter-miler, his greatest sporting feat had been riding his home made 'bone shaker' to York in 1872. He was the club's first 'knight', having been dubbed 'Sir John' by the locals, and prided himself on being a Lancashire lad. By contrast, Joseph Brown was a comparatively young member, recruited for his 'business capabilities'. He was however 'a genuine sportsman, devoting himself chiefly to the delights of the field and river'. The two remaining committee men were to have a prominent role in the establishment of the North End company, Walter Pomfret and Robert Woodhouse. Pomfret had been a member since 1871, and had been 'a popular member of the 1st eleven until cricket was abjoined in favour of football'. He had always been a committee man 'except in the year that football was adopted'. He had links with many of the town's sporting clubs, and lived to see the 'New Invincibles' return the Cup to Preston in 1938.

Robert Proctor Woodhouse, 'Parish clerk and sexton, and monumental sculptor', was to be one of the most important figures in the club's history. Among the oldest playing members of the Preston Cricket Club, and a long serving committee man there, he claimed to have played for the embryonic 'North End' team as early as 1863. Certainly he played for a number of the Preston teams in the early 1860s, making his debut for PCC in 1866. He subsequently seems to have been 'loaned' to the North End club, and was elected a vice-president as early as 1869. By 1889 he had been a member of the committee, 'for the last few years'. Woodhouse was to be a prime mover in organising the coup which was to remove Sudell in 1893.**(25)**

The events of 1893-5 have cast a long shadow over Sudell's earlier career, and from 1893 the new order at Deepdale was at pains to assert its popular aspect. The period of the club's greatness came to be seen as tainted by the dictatorship of one man, however unjust this must have been to the committee, its agents, and the large number of people required to make a football club a success. Indeed later North End 'directors' have probably taken no more heed of the supporters views than their former 'dictator'. All this may be to overstate matters. Certainly Sudell deployed his managerial skills, developed in the Preston cotton trade, to great effect: **This one man form of government was not always to the taste of the followers of the club, and at one annual general meeting an agitation for his deposition came to a head; but a profound student of human nature, he side tracked his critics by a characteristic move, and**

actually turned it to his own advantage. On another occasion he resigned on a point of procedure, only for the committee to pass a vote of confidence 'in his acts and judgement', before suitably chastened, they passed a motion which **'bound themselves to be responsible for any acts that in the absence of the committee he may see fit in the interests of the club to do'.**[26]



THE WORLD'S FIRST TOY FOOTBALL GAME.
MADE IN PRESTON C1890, THE PLAYERS ARE ARRAYED IN RED & WHITE, AND BLUE & WHITE HALVED JERSEYS. CLEARLY THE MAKERS HAD A LOCAL DERBY GAME IN MIND. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

Sudell's influence was also projected directly into the field of play. The early games had a referee and two umpires (linesmen), and once his playing career was over he frequently 'umpired' for North End. In one game the Bolton Wanderers goalkeeper, Trainer, saved the ball on the line. Mr. Sudell walking the line with his stick immediately cried 'Goal'. A dispute ensued with Sudell planting his stick two feet behind the line, and Trainer pushing it forwards. This see-sawing went on for some time, until the referee enquired of Sudell where the ball had been. To Trainer's disgust the goal was given.**(27)**

The role of the captain on the field is central to any team's success, and the development of North End's style of play owed much to Jack Ross, 'the Greatest Full-back in the World'. Ultimately the club's continuing progress depended on the relationship between himself and Sudell. Disputes were not infrequent and could be explosive, but in Ross the club had found a player able to direct events on the pitch. In 1888 Ross described his captain's role: **He must understand both the players and the play. I moved several men last Monday night to different positions on the field, because I saw that the game wanted forcing. It is much better for men to keep to their usual positions, but many things turn up in a match which make certain changes necessary and beneficial. Fast play, slow play, tricky play, long and short kicks, shooting for goals, and a hundred other things have to be taken in instantly, and prompt measures adopted to frustrate every move of opponents: add to this that every player has a style or knack peculiar to himself, and you will have some idea of the responsibility of a captain on the field.(28)**

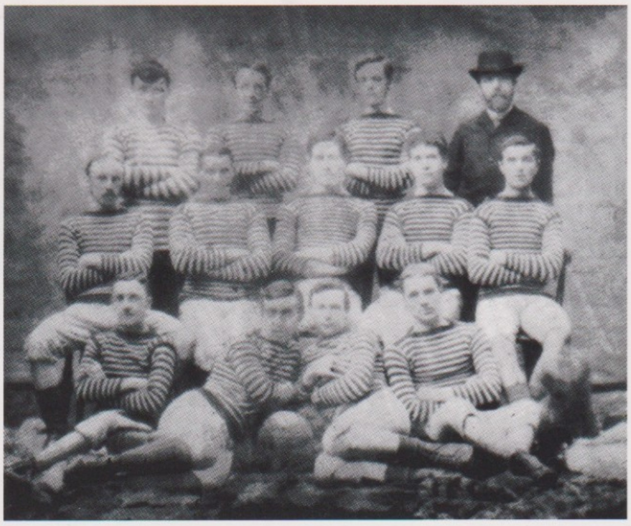
The club's dependence on Sudell, the untimely death of a single key player, and the amateur management structure of the club, were almost to bring about its collapse, but in 1883 they were barely clouds on the horizon. In May, the club's annual meeting was followed by a presentation to Sudell. The club's first Scottish professional, John Belger, had been with them less than six months, and the mood was bullish. After a rambling speech in praise of the Royal Family, the club president W. E. M. Tomlinson MP recognised the recent achievements of the football club 'whatever misgivings they might have had'. He went on to describe Sudell's role as treasurer, and gave a strong hint that he had drawn on his own money: **He had made the club such a one as would attract the working classes, and those who most required the means of exercise, in order to give them health, and in order to make themselves better citizens (applause). And better able to fulfil the duties of life.** Sudell duly replied that others had worked as hard as he, but that he would hand on his address to show that he had been of some use, 'if only to a football club'. He then developed one of his familiar themes: **They'd had**

hard times to go through, but they had now emerged into the sunshine, and he felt convinced that if they would stick together their president would yet see them in London, and if they did not win the cup they would at least be near to doing so. More pragmatically he wanted to win the Lancashire Cup. The illuminated address, in red, white and blue, to commemorate his 15 years with the club, described the storms the club had passed through, 'which would undoubtedly have swamped it, had we not had your ready tact and advice at hand'. Much of their success was due to his 'upright character' and 'generous nature'. Finally members prayed that he might 'be spared to us many years'. Mrs. Sudell was given a gold locket and chain. Aspirations were still modest, for it was their club's 'present proud position among the clubs of the town' which had motivated them. The event ended with the toast, 'The North End Club'.**(29)**

1883: THE YEAR OF THE SCOTTISH PROFESSORS

Though the North End CC had hired professionals, and was not averse to packing the team with 'foreigners' for important games, the football club did not originate the practice of signing Scottish players. Scotsmen were to be found in most of the leading Lancashire teams before North End took the game up seriously. Fergie Suter of Darwen FC was one of the first, and it was his departure to rivals Blackburn Rovers which sparked off trouble at the derby game in November 1880. The Darwen team denounced the Rovers 'in strengthening their team with Scotch players', even though the previous season they themselves had the services of F. Suter, E. Suter and 'Jimmy Love'. When they had failed to get Tom Vallance of Glasgow Rangers for the game they had fallen back on the 'born and bred' argument. The match ended when a fight broke out between Marshall and Fergie Suter.**(30)** The latter was a stonemason, but he gave up his trade in Lancashire claiming that the stone was too hard. He had no visible means of support, and as Harry Berry concluded there can be little doubt that the Scots players were professionals.**(31)** Forced to adjudicate, the LFA altered the rules. 'To stop the growing evil of engaging noted players to play a cup tie' a player should henceforth be a member of the club and have been a local resident for one month. This mild response was highlighted in January 1882 when the LFA representative side to play the Scottish Association contained three Scots! Faced with a widespread abuse the Lancashire Association had little choice but to tolerate it.**(32)**

Scottish players often stayed on after visits with their clubs. Over the 1883 New Year North End played Glasgow South Western and Glasgow Luton. Among the players listed was one 'J. Badger', who may have been no other than Jack Belger 'The Goalkeeper Smasher' and ace centre forward.**(33)** By mid-February he was an established North Ender.



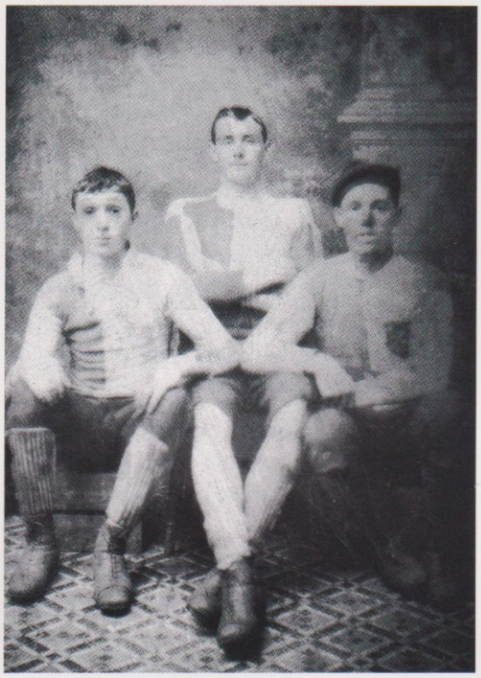
Preston North End FC, 1882-83

Back row (l-r) C Duckworth, B Dent, B Robinson, Mr. W Sudell (director). Middle Row: H Cartmell, W J Joy, J Belger, F Dewhurst, W Brown. Front Row: W Lamb, J Nuttall, C Bolton, W Smalley.

This is the earliest known photograph of a North End football team. It includes Harry Cartmell, Bethal Robinson, Fred Dewhurst, and Deepdale's first professional footballer, Jack Belger - the Goalkeeper Smasher himself. A photograph of the 1876 rugby side was loaned to 'Perseus' and duly published in the Lancashire Daily Post on 27 April 1938. The original now seems to be lost. (National Football Museum)

He scored in the 5-1 defeat of Blackpool South Shore, and was in the thick of the battle in a 4-1 defeat by Blackburn Olympic a fortnight later. His impact was immediate, 'For the home team all played excellent, and the result of the game augers well for their future success'.**(34)** At the end of April the club ended 'a most successful season' with a 6-1 rout of Newcastle upon Tyne. No club had beaten them twice, and they had played 35, won 25, drawn 7, lost 3, with goals for 211, goals against 61. The second team had won 13 of their 17 games. Great things were promised for the new season. Following a patronising letter from the club secretary to Lostock Hall FC, refusing them a fixture on the grounds that their name would look ridiculous among the top teams North End were now used to playing, a sarcastic letter in the press made fun of the 'cuffed, and collared, hair oiled and scented' players of that 'Invincible and celebrated club'. Indeed, the writer claimed, that Blackburn Rovers were frightened to face them. Within only a short time this was to be no less than the truth, for the Invincibles were in the making.**(35)**

The year 1883 thus saw the club 'launched on the tide of prosperity'. As Jimmy Catton later recalled: **It was in the summer that Mr. Sudell conceived the idea of bringing some Scotch football players to Preston, and finding them good situations on condition they assisted the North End team.(36)** Sudell was clearly following the well established route to success so successfully trod by the club's East Lancashire rivals. On 17 July 1883, an Edinburgh slater and possibly the most advanced footballer of his day, Nicholas John Ross crossed the border. Around him was to be built 'the greatest football machine that the world has ever seen'. Yet, as 'Perseus' noted in 1903: **This was only the beginning, and soon Geordie Drummond and Sandy Robertson, from the Edinburgh St. Bernards, and David Russell were also resident in Ribblesdale, while J. Gordon, an old Port Glasgow forward, engaged as a joiner at Leyland, four miles away, was brought in. Later on (1884) we find further Scottish additions, including Johnny Graham, from Annbank, S. Thomson, from Lugar Boswell, James Ross, a younger brother of Nick, and J. Ferguson. In addition to these there were some excellent local players, including W. Joy, Fred Dewhurst, R. Howarth, Bethel Robinson (also sometime secretary), C. Duckworth, and W. Smalley, while very shortly W. C. Rose, the well known goalkeeper of the Swifts, joined the Preston ranks.(37)** The club's cautious experiments and early seasons with the game, had thus offered the hope of financial success. The AGM of 1884 revealed a balance in hand of £250. North End seemed to have at last found a game that would pay.**(38)**



Three early North End footballers c1884 (l-r) William Joy, Jack Gordon and David Russell. These colourful and formidable personalities are wearing the club's original red and white halved football shirts, of a style similar to those still worn by the players of the Blackburn club. This photograph may have been one of the earliest picture cards issued for the regular sale to supporters. (National Football Museum)

The season 1883-4 marked the beginning of the club's remarkable ten years of success, which was only to end with the tragic death of Nick Ross, and Sudell's fall. The new season began well with a 6-0 victory at Turton. The old masters were no longer a match for the new North End, and 'So disgusted were some of the Turton 'lady' spectators at the total breakdown that they threw off their shawls and were with difficulty prevented from entering the enclosure to assist their male friends'. They duly proceeded to 'let the players know the power of their tongues', whilst the Preston goalkeeper, Joy, 'had to content himself with lounging on the green sward at the mouth of his den'. Eagley were vanquished 9-2, despite an enthusiastic dog robbing Ross of the ball as he was about to score.**(39)** Competition for players was intense. After this game the Preston Herald wondered: **It would be interesting to know what that Accrington gentleman wanted with one of the NE forwards at the Caledonian Mill on Monday. Perhaps it was something in connection with a very special committee meeting at Accrington on the same evening.(40)** Even new signings could not be trusted. Strachan and Beverley had been poached from the Rovers, but having been paid and 'promising to turn up' for a game against Darwen, they were 'copped' by a 'Rovers representative' as they walked to the railway station. They then changed their minds and went to play for Rovers against Accrington instead!**(41)**

The club's success was sensational, and the team began to attract very large crowds to away matches. In October 1883 over 10,000 attended a game against Bolton Wanderers at Pike Lane, and 'PNE's share of the gate was quite £400!'. This game was notable for the number of Scots on view. Although the Bolton fraternity complained about the Preston Scots, it was suggested that they had fielded seven of their own, for as one eye-witness pointed out, 'McKiernan evidently knew his man when he exclaimed so frantically in broad Scotch the other day (referring to Ross) 'Dinna let him settle on the ba''. Ross and Drummond were stoned as they left the pitch, and the team refused to dine with the Boltonians following a 'gratuitous' insult to Mr. Sudell.**(42)** The club had risen to the top of the Lancashire clubs, and began to play teams from further afield. Burslam Port Vale described their North End fixture as their 'match of the season'. Future opponents were met for the first time. In the 9-1 defeat of Birmingham Aston Unity, Russell so 'forgot himself' as to 'throw an opponent down', whilst a win against Wednesbury Old Athletic brought the club to the notice of West Bromwich Albion, who claimed previously not to have heard of Preston North End.**(43)**

Just ten months after the arrival of Belger, the North End team playing under the direction of Ross was described as 'one of the most rising clubs in the north of England'. West Brom were duly beaten 3-1 at Deepdale. Both teams joined in the hearty celebrations after the match. Two North Enders disappeared, to be found 'bedecked in ladies aprons' in the scullery washing dinner plates, 'It will be at once judged that the owners of the aprons were not far away'. North End were to enter the FA cup competition for the first time, and with uncanny foresight the West Bromwich 'doctor' offered the hope that the teams would some day meet again to 'play a cup final'. The North End team for this historic game comprised; **Goal; Joy. Backs; Duckworth, Robinson. Halfbacks; Wilson, Russell, Brown. Forwards; Ross (capt.), Drummond, Belger, Dewhurst, Smalley. Umpire; Mr. W. Sudell.(44)**

On 17 October 1883 the Preston Herald published perhaps the first 'league table' seen in the local press. Since games were not played systematically and teams varied greatly in strength, positions were based on goal average alone. It was thus important to run-in as many goals as possible. Blackburn Rovers, Queens Park and Aston Villa filled the top three places, with North End eleventh, having played seven, drawn two, and lost one, with a goal average of 2.35 to 1. Only the FA Cup could provide a fair test of a club's standing, and having been given a bye in the first round North End were to play Great Lever on December 1st.

PARADISE DEFERRED: EXPELLED FROM THE FA CUP

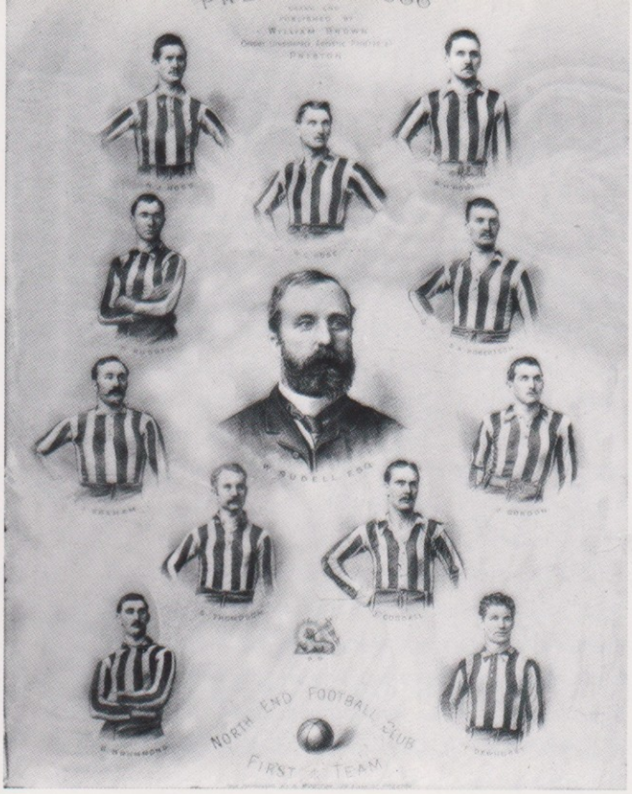
North End's 4-3 win against Wednesbury Old Athletic in September 1883 was their first significant success against non-Lancastrian opposition. Hopes for the FA Cup ran very high: 'If nothing happens for a while to come, lovers of football under the Scotch rules will witness our worthy home team far advanced in the Cup competition'.**(45)** Great local interest thus developed in the club's first game in the FA Cup, against Great Lever, played on December 1 1883. The pitch's drainage was specially improved, and the patrons of Deepdale were informed that the kick-off was to take place at '2-45 prompt'. A crowd of 8,000 saw the game, reflecting the great interest which had developed in Preston. It was composed 'of all sorts and conditions of men - high and low, rich and poor, employees and employed, saints and sinners, everyone taking an almost overwhelming interest in the manly English game'. North End began with 'a great rush down the hill', and scored almost immediately. As Belger 'gently placed' the opposing goalkeeper, Wilson, under the crossbar, Fergie Drummond kicked the ball out of his hands and into the goal. In the second half Wilson had to leave the field following 'Belger's attention'. North End went on to win 4-1. The Great Lever team were said to have spent the following night in Preston, being afraid to show their faces in Bolton.**(46)**

North End's progress was not universally appreciated. In the south resentment against paid and imported players was growing. The Blackburn footballing fraternity was said to be consumed with jealousy. Later in the month the Blackburn Park Road side was strengthened by Douglas, Suter and Lofthouse of the Rovers, for a game against North End. The conduct of the crowd 'was simply disgraceful. They loudly incited the home team to rough play, and as noisily hooted and threatened the visitors if they displayed the slightest tendency to retaliation'.**(47)** On Christmas Day, when 10,000 packed Deepdale for a game against Walsall Swifts, the ground was so full that 'the branches of the trees surrounding the enclosure were also utilised for vantage points'.**(48)** To set this host into context, a few weeks later Preston Grasshoppers attracted a crowd of just a thousand for a very attractive match against Manchester. On Boxing Day North End lost 2-1 at home to West Bromwich Albion, but disposed of Eagley in the third round of the Cup 9-1 three days later. The fourth round paired North End with Upton Park, a southern side of the old school. This was to be the most important game yet seen at Deepdale, and the club made careful preparations, which included a seaside stay at Saltburn: **The afternoon was fine and the ground in excellent condition. By the time for the kick off at 2-15pm fully 13,000 persons had assembled round the enclosure. At the call of time the score stood at 1 goal each (Smalley), although North End had two goals disallowed. It was decided to play an extra quarter of an hour each way. The North End scored another goal which was disallowed, and thus ended in a draw, one goal each. Great disappointment was expressed by the spectators, as to the decisions arrived at by the referee.(49)** Despite the erection of a special canvas screen supporters had once more perched in the adjacent trees and seen the game for nothing.

The bombshell, which was eventually to result in the establishment of the professional world game, fell immediately. On the Sunday morning Bethal Robinson, the North End secretary received the following letter:

The Football Association,
28 Paternoster Row,
London E. C. Jan 19th 1884.

Dear Sir - I beg to inform you that I have this morning received a protest from the Upton Park Club against your club on the ground of professionalism. It will be placed before the committee at their next meeting. Yours truly - C. W. Alcock, Hon. Sec. It was alleged that North End had broken rule 15: **Any member of a club receiving remuneration or consideration of any sort above his actual expenses, and any wages actually lost by any such player taking part in any match, shall be debarred from taking part in either Cup, Inter Association, or International**



A souvenir montage of William Sudell and his North End team 1886.

Nicholas John Ross, formerly of the Heart of Midlothian club, is shown top left. Generally acknowledged in his day as the greatest full back in the world, Old Nick was one of North End's greatest players, on a par with Alec James and Tom Finney. Present and future players should consider his bitterness on missing a Cup winner's medal by briefly leaving the club for a better paid job with Everton. On his death-bed he begged his brother Jimmy to promise him that he would never leave Deepdale. This engraving is important because it is one of the earliest occasions when the club assumed the prerogative of using the ancient town crest.

contests and any club employing such player shall be excluded from this Association.(50) Clearly virtually all the senior Lancashire clubs were generally in breach of this rule during their club games, but could it be proven? Sudell protested that although North End 'imported' Scottish players and found them work the club was not strictly in contravention of the rule. The Association's thinking seems to have been hazy, for though North End were put out of the Cup competition they were not expelled from the Association, which would have been the case if professionalism had been proved.

The Upton Park players protested that the complaint had not come from them, and that they had been looking forward to meeting North End again. The complaint was believed to have originated in Lancashire. Sudell was interrogated for one and a half hours, and his conduct of the case was praised by the president of the FA, Major Marindin. The club's representatives were courteously treated, whilst: **The Upton Park officials also showed them every kindness and consideration, and expressed their regret that they had been made the channel for bringing about the result, and wished that it had been any other club than North End that had been proceeded against by the Association. (51)** Who were the amateurs, asked one newspaper correspondent, when Upton Park had asked £61 to play the fixture in the first place, had ultimately taken £81, and had not offered to return it when the match was declared void?

The dispute over professionalism was largely over in the north. Scots and 'foreigners' proliferated at most clubs. A letter in the Preston Herald from 'Mancunian' claimed that Bolton Wanderers had 14, Halliwell had 10, Burnley FC and North End (G. Wilson, Belger, Russell, Drummond, the two Ross's, Duckworth and Buttery) each had eight, Accrington FC had seven, and Blackburn Rovers and Olympic had three each. Furthermore he claimed, these men were paid around £2 per week, whilst 'one whole team of players' he knew about had been promised £15 or £20 each at the end of the season. Footballers were a pampered and spoiled lot: **It is no secret that the men are fed on eggs and oysters and beefsteaks, and it is said that presents of legs of mutton, groceries etc are made ad lib. The teams are waited on like royalty, and 'rubbers down', bag carriers, and even boot cleaners, followed them about.(52)** The local press drew a subtle distinction between hired professionals, and the bone fide members of a club settled in the town.

The southern-based Football Association had clearly struck at the emerging professional game in the north and midlands. Much confusion surrounded exactly who had made the protest. The southern establishment, and the 'school-boy clubs' of the south were felt to be intrinsically hostile to the more industrious and worthy northerners, while metropolitan footballers were said to be clearly aggrieved at the loss of the Cup to the north, from which it might never return. The Scottish clubs were also suspected of involvement by supplying 'evidence' to the FA committee, particularly the Heart of Midlothian and St. Bernard's clubs. Nearer home much suspicion fell upon Blackburn Rovers as they marched towards the Cup Final. Though two members of the Rovers' committee were outspoken in their criticism of North End's exclusion, the Blackburn club was the clear beneficiary from Preston's troubles with the Football Association in the mid-1880's. Here at least honour could easily be satisfied, and on 23 February the Rovers were beaten 3-2 at Deepdale in front of a crowd estimated to be 15,000 strong.(53)

On 30 January the Lancashire Football Association, sympathising with North End's predicament, decided to ask the FA for the evidence on which North End had been struck out of the Cup. When the latter 'declined to furnish the evidence in the PNE case', the LFA decided that it was still free to select North End players for representative matches - in contravention of rule 15. William Sudell, whose participation as a committee member had developed markedly, accordingly offered the Association the use of Deepdale for the Lancashire Cup final. By the end of the year the LFA was openly supporting professionalism. On 13 October, in reply to the FA's circular on professionalism, the Association decided 'that it is expedient to legalise professionalism under stringent conditions'. These were to be the player's birth or two years' residence within 12 miles of the club. The AGM in May 1885 decided in favour of the legalisation of professionalism 'in some form or other at no distant date'.(54)

In Preston a steely determination developed: **"That whoever prompted the action against North End is a contemptible fellow - That come what will, the English cup, aye, and the Lancashire cup too, shall find their way to the proud town."(55)**

Why it was decided to make such an example of Preston North End is still unclear, but Blackburn Rovers now faced Upton Park in the fifth round, rather than a North End in the ascendant. The latter's uninterrupted career in the FA Cup would not begin until October 1886. In this interim Rovers would complete their celebrated hat trick of FA Cup wins.

POLITICS AND THE MAKING OF DEEPDALE

Despite this marked setback to the club's ambitions, life went on as normal at Deepdale. The club's AGM was held in March 1884 at the Black-a-Moors Head in Lancaster Road. Most of the club's 400 members attended. Sudell stated that a large sum had been spent on ground improvements, and a debt of £120 (£64 owed to himself) had been replaced by a profit of £258. Income had been £1,496-11s-1d, whilst expenditure (which had been 'heavier than it will ever be again') was £1,238-6s-0d. The latter comprised £332 for 'erection of stands', £374-4s-4d 'to visiting teams as per arrangement', with £300 in hand. In short: **Up to the beginning of this season very little was known out of Preston of the North End team, but he thought the football world now knew something of the Preston North End Football Club (Applause).(56)** After this sally the meeting became engrossed in criticism of the club's accounts, members demanding to know who signed the cheques, and who had appointed the auditors. Since the players were not supposed to be professionals, no reference could be made to their wages. Though the items of expenditure listed included £106-13s-7d 'travelling expenses', this still left a gap of over £300 unaccounted for!

Sudell had to intervene several times, particularly to answer the accusation that the committee 'were guzzling the money of the club away'. He claimed that the only money he had received from their visit to London over 'the Upton Park matter' had been for a breakfast, and that he had paid for the tea for the Upton Park players in Preston 'out of his own pocket'. Even at this early date the supporters clearly did not trust the executive (or perhaps anyone else) as far as money was concerned. On the other hand the latter had significant payments to the players to obscure. W. E. M. Tomlinson MP was elected President, and Sudell was re-elected as chairman, both unopposed. Thomas Banks continued as treasurer, and two secretaries were appointed, Fred Dewhurst and Bethal Robinson. The committee of 12 contained a number of familiar names, J. Woods, W. Naylor, W. Pomfret, W. Turner, W. H. Hulme, J. Parkinson, H. S. Cartmell, R. Green, F. Woods, W. Whiteside, J. Sumner and J. Milner.

Success brought new difficulties, and one of the main problems that the executive had to face was where to put the large number of supporters. The uneven dimensions of the Old Hey Field, cut off like an island amid other Corporation holdings, naturally led to the development of a rather idiosyncratic ground. Following his talks with surviving early players, 'Perseus' was able to piece together a fairly accurate description: **Deepdale was a ground to which access was obtained chiefly by means of a field path into which one struck almost opposite St. Paul's Road, although it could be approached from the north side, some what similarly. It was by this latter route that Mr. Sudell ...used to reach the ground, living as he did in a house on that side which, I believe, is now the presbytery of St. Gregory's catholic church on the arterial road ...It was little more than an enclosed space, retaining the natural contours of ridge, furrow, and fall, and completely open except for a shed which was dignified by the name of dressing room, placed across one corner. As time went on ... the means of access was improved and a 'grand stand' was erected on the site of the existing structure, which fulfilled the club's requirements rebuilt and enlarged after the war, until the new pavilion was entered upon two years ago.(57)**

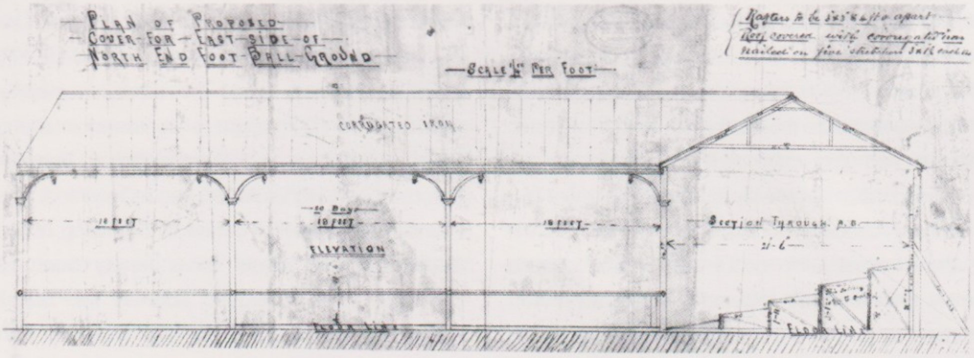
To improve access it was necessary to acquire rights to the Long Moor, the field lying between Old Hey and Deepdale Road, subsequently used as the car park. The Council's General Purposes Committee saw no objection to this, but negotiations soon reached an impasse on the question of rent. Councillor Ashcroft felt that the rent of £5 per acre was asking too much: **The North End football club was catering for the benefit of the working people, and he believed did more good than all the religious denominations put together, including the Salvation and the Blue Ribbon Armies (laughter). On Saturday afternoon when the football club was going to play, the work people went direct from their work to their dinner, and then proceeded to the field to witness the game. It kept them out of the public houses - indeed the landlords themselves had to go because their customers were taken away.(58)** A rent of £4 per acre for the eight acre field was a fairer price he concluded. Alderman Gilbertson argued that Preston Cricket Club paid £6, the games were not free, and he had heard that players were imported from other towns, and that there were professionals among them. Alderman Hibbert added that he had heard that there was much gambling on the match results. Councillor Thompson believed that football was a legitimate amusement, 'and to a very great extent benefited the entire community'.

Though the councillors could not agree, Mr. Ashcroft ended on a high note. Every penny taken at the gate was spent for the public good. The club was the recognised champion club of the north of England, there were fine doings there, and the ground was frequented by thousands weekly. A grandstand had lately been erected, but it was certain that it would have to be enlarged. People stood eleven deep around the pitch and could only see half of the game, and to accommodate them it had been suggested that a stand twelve feet high could be erected all round the field. The dispute dragged on. In February, 1884, it was reported that the Council feared that North End might sublet any land they did not require to cattle drovers, 'who might have diseased animals there'.**(59)** An accommodation was arrived at, and for the start of the 1884-5 season a number of improvements had been made: **The road leading to the ground has been superseded by a splendid cinder path, which has been carried in a straight line from the end of the Grand Stand into Deepdale Road, this mode of ingress and egress being much shorter than the former one. The Grand Stand and the**

rails around the ground have been painted, and a new dressing tent is now in the course of erection, on the north west corner of the field. In style it is similar to that of the Blackburn Rovers, and when complete, will, including among other requisites four large baths, cost about £200.(60)

The dispute was far from over. Mr. Sudell felt that the interests of the town and the club were the same, and he was not going to let the opposition of a contingent of the town council pass unpunished. By late summer an 'agitation' had developed in St. Peter's ward, the seat of Councillor Cookson, who had particularly enraged the executive. A public meeting was held in the large Temperance Hall in North Road, to consider his behaviour. Mr. Sudell in the chair went over the manner in which the request by a club 'which had for its sole aim healthful recreation,' to build a footpath, had been treated by the council. Mr. Cookson's course against the club had been particularly objectionable, and Mr. Parker had been put up to run against him in the council elections. The North End club's many friends would clearly know which was the better man. However Mr. Cookson had at last seen the error of his ways: **That evening he and Mr. Wood had seen Mr. Cookson, who had intimated that if he did say anything against the club he did not mean it; and that in future it would be his desire to further its prosperity.(61)** In 1887 the rental was fixed at £32.

By the standards of the mid-1880's Deepdale seems to have been regarded as a reasonably good ground, though it did not keep up with the subsequent improvement in standards, until the construction of the West Stand in 1906. Before this, two stands stood on the west side, the 'large' 1883 grandstand and a 'small' one, apparently with a press box between. When the 1906 stand was demolished in the 1990's traces of these former structures could be seen in the foundations. At an angle in the north west corner stood Mr. Sudell's 'Dressing Tent', described by Simon Inglis as a 'hut', but perhaps a rather more substantial structure. Before this was built the players had changed at the old Deepdale Hotel, beside the Deepdale railway station, and walked down to the ground. The remaining sides were terraced, and not covered. The most popular area seems to have been on the east terracing where the Pavilion Stand was erected in 1934. There was no planning as such, and the ground evolved in response to the needs of individual games. In February 1884, for example, the main grandstand was 'lengthened by 48 yards' before a clash with Blackburn Rovers.(62)



A plan for a covered enclosure along the east side of Deepdale, 1890.

Despite a number of schemes, the east side of the ground remained uncovered and only partially terraced, as late as 1935. This was the popular side, and in the early days North Enders could array themselves among the branches of the trees in the vicinity, and watch the game for free. Wary of the lost sixpences, the North End executive took strenuous action to exclude them, and on one occasion tried to erect a screen of curtains. The above plans may have been proposed in response to the splendid new ground being developed at Ewood park. (National Football Museum)

On the eve of the age of the Invincibles a correspondent from Football Field wrote that: **The Deepdale ground is considered to be one of the best so far as the comfort of the spectator is concerned. There are raised platforms all round, which gradually rise in height to the back, and everybody in the cheaper part of the field has a good view of the game. The Committee of the Club has contracted for the roofing of the uncovered stand, so that one side of the ground will be entirely taken up with covered galleries. Then there is an enclosure for non-playing members. The touch line is close to the boundaries, and spectators have a near view of all the details of play. These arrangements, combined with good football and popular prices of admission, make the North End ground one of the best frequented football fields in the Kingdom.(63)** The place must have been a potential death trap, and it is fortunate that average attendances by later standards were so low. Not until the eve of the Great War did gates regularly exceed 10,000.

THE BRITISH FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION

In the wake of the Upton Park fiasco, William Sudell and the progressive Lancashire clubs now began a long war of attrition against the Football Association. In the weeks before the Upton Park case, the Preston Herald had suggested that the answer to the professionalism dispute lay in the establishment of a Northern Association for clubs north of Warwickshire, 'where football is no doubt best understood and most enthusiastically followed'. This would protect clubs like Preston from 'undue interference'.**(64)** In August 1884 a meeting was held to discuss the club's participation in that season's FA Cup competition. Mr. Sudell urged members to have nothing to do with the FA 'after the way they had been treated last year'. Accordingly they did not enter the competition, but asked the press to report that no Northern Association was in prospect.**(65)** Within two months the first meeting of the British National Football Association had been held at Manchester.**(66)**

The Lancashire clubs were stirred to action by the FA's circular on Professionalism, ordering members to provide lists of imported players and their wages. Meetings were held at Bolton and Blackburn, and included Preston North End, Preston Zingari, Burnley, Bolton Wanderers and Accrington. William Sudell chaired the meetings, and Blackburn Rovers did not attend. The 17 clubs agreed to refuse to return the circular on the grounds that the FA's authority only extended to the Cup. Seven clubs decided to withdraw from the competition. The next step was to establish a British Association. The first meeting on 30 October was attended by some 70 delegates representing 36 leading clubs, including representatives from Aston Villa, Sunderland and Walsall Swifts. Although little progress was made towards establishing a breakaway association, the group forced the FA to take the issue seriously, and to investigate the problem more thoroughly.**(67)**

Behind the scenes William Sudell worked steadily towards the legalisation of the professional game. The large number of Scots identified by the Scottish FA in 1885 indicates the extent of this northern penetration. Of the 57 players identified, North End had 11 and Preston Zingari a further four, Blackburn Rovers had four, and Burnley FC had ten. In January 1885, the Football Association held a special meeting under the chairmanship of Major Marindin to discuss the problem. A vote in favour was carried by 113 votes to 108, but lacked the two-thirds majority required. The 220 delegates contained a strong Preston contingent, with Preston Zingari, Fishwick Ramblers, and Higher Walton also represented. This was perhaps Sudell's finest hour: **The rising of Mr. Sudell was the signal for a hearty burst of cheering. In an energetic address Mr. Sudell advocated the claims of the professionals with much force, his candour in openly admitting that the North End were a team of professionals meeting with warm approval.(68)** Having threatened to reveal the actual extent of covert professionalism in the game, he found the critical argument which was to carry the day: **'Gentlemen', exclaimed the speaker with great earnestness, 'Preston North End are professionals, but if you refuse to legalise professionalism they will be amateurs from today**

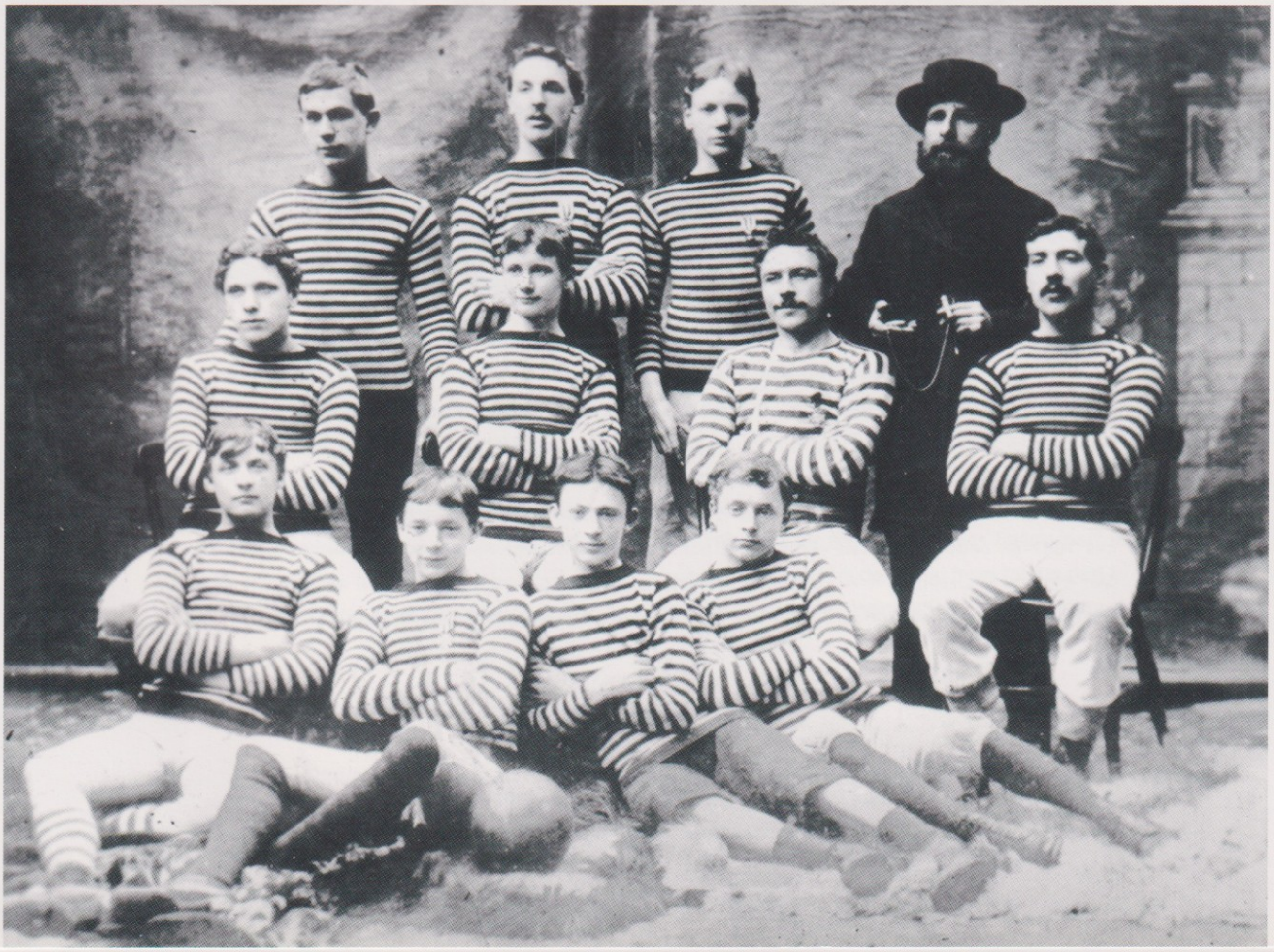
- we shall all be amateurs, and you cannot prove otherwise'.(69)

On 23 March, a further proposal to legalise professionalism passed by 106 to 69 votes, but this time a sub-committee was set up to work out a compromise. At the historic meeting on 20 July 1885, when Sudell's supporters, Dr. Morley of Blackburn Rovers and Mr. Gregson of the LFA, asked the delegates present to vote for the adoption of its report; 35 of the 47 men present did so, and the meeting was over in ten minutes. The new ruling stipulated that: **Professionals shall be allowed to compete in all Cup games provided that they are qualified as follows: In Cup matches by birth or residence for two years past within six miles of the ground or headquarters of the club for which they play.** Sudell and the North End had secured their most important victory.**(70)**

North End's FA Cup troubles, however, were still not over. Having passed Great Lever on a 'walk over', and disposed of Astley Bridge 11-3 in the second round, they faced Bolton Wanderers in the third round of the 1885-6 competition. At Pikes Lane, North End won the tie 3-2 in convincing fashion. On Bolton's appeal against the result, Drummond was proved to have been working in his native Edinburgh (i.e. not a 'temporary absence'), and North End were duly expelled. Sudell had of course retaliated by reporting a Bolton player, and they were also expelled. Blackburn Rovers could now go on to complete their hat trick of FA Cup wins. Yet the Preston North End club had carried football into the modern era, by establishing the professional game. This was to be the club's proudest achievement, one of much greater significance than any transient supremacy on the field of play. Sudell was duly rewarded with a place on the FA's committee, and by the 1886-7 season most of the Preston Scottish had been resident in the town for two years. At last an uninterrupted campaign could be launched to bring the FA Cup to Deepdale.

THE NORTH END RESERVES, 1883-84

THIS GROUP OF RESERVES AND YOUNG PLAYERS IS DOMINATED BY THE FIGURE OF WILLIAM SUDELL, WHO IS HOLDING THE BADGES OF HIS OFFICE AS AN UMPIRE - HIS WHISTLE AND WATCH. INTERESTINGLY, THE YOUTH ON THE LEFT SIDE OF THE FRONT ROW APPEARS TO BE THE FIRST NORTH ENDER TO BE PHOTOGRAPHED WEARING HOOPED STOCKINGS!

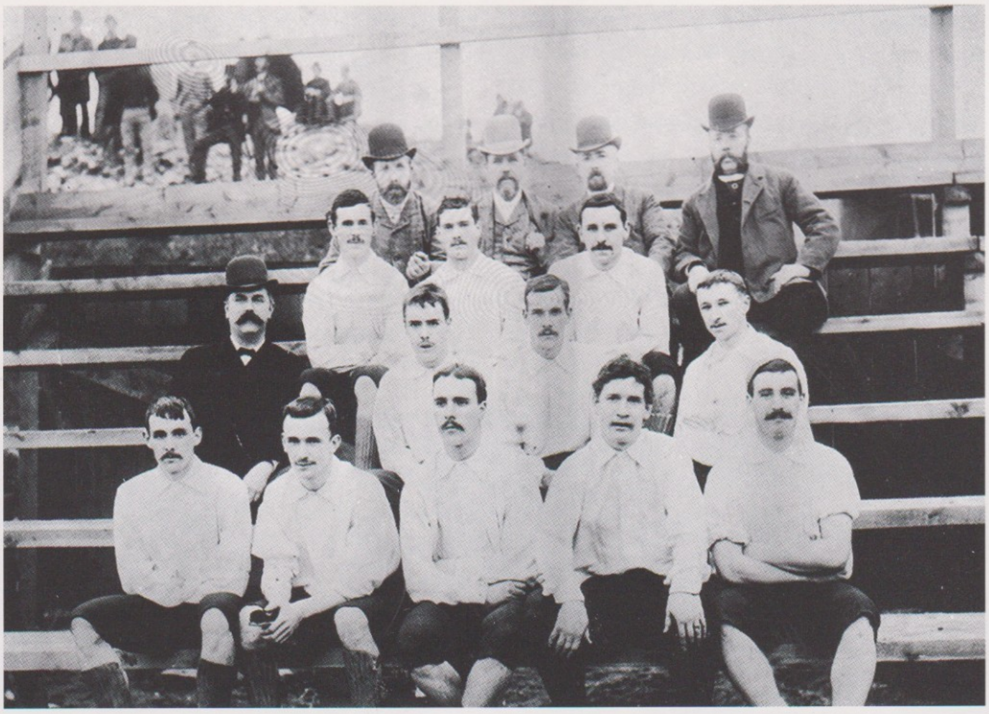


chapter

3

the champion club of the WORLD

Although the Scottish players could pass easily among the parties of itinerant working men attracted by Lancashire's sprawling textile and iron industries, football clubs went to great lengths to disguise their true intentions.



William Sudell and the North End Executive, with the soon to be 'Invincibles', September 1887. The team was still smarting after their defeat by West Bromwich Albion in the Semi-final of the cup the previous March. This 3-1 defeat was described as 'The most severe thrashing they have ever had since they became a club of note'. In fact, the game had been played in rather unequal circumstances, and away from East Lancashire North End were generally considered to be the best team in the land. Just ten days after this picture was taken North End were drawn against Hyde United in the first round of the 1887-88 competition. The photograph illustrates the primitive ground accommodation of the day, and if taken at Deepdale it includes the earliest image of the club's supporters, who have managed to creep into the extreme top left hand side of the frame. (National Football Museum)

At the height of the importation crisis Football Field, incredibly, described how Jack Ross 'had been quietly working for Mr. Bradshaw, flagger and slater, of Preston, before the North End executive got any inkling of the jewel in their midst'. A Preston friend, 'a compositor in a Preston printing house', had introduced him, whereupon 'a deputation then waited on Ross, and nothing loth, he joined the club'. In this way North End acquired the Hearts captain and the greatest fullback in the world!**(1)** By the end of 1883 a large number of Scots had to be accommodated: **There was a house in Preston which was being 'decorated' for close upon nine months by one or two men who were euphemistically called paperhangers and painters, men who turned up when they liked and worked as little as they pleased. But it was the house of an enthusiast that was undergoing the process, and it was more often than not turned into a camping place for these Scottish exiles.(2)** The elaborate means taken to hoodwink the football authorities, thus still cast a considerable haze over the comings and goings of the period.

GOALKEEPER SMASHER

The steps taken to conceal players' identities makes the recognition of their precise movements difficult. The arrival of Jack Ross and John Belger, respectively perhaps the best 'centre half' and 'centre forward' of their day, transformed North End's play in 1883. John Belger was said to have passed 'as a player called Ogden', and many details of his career are yet obscure. His retirement in 1884 and early death in 1895, effectively precluded him from the newspaper biographies which shed so much light on the Invincibles proper. During his career at Preston the captain was the star and leading attraction. At the centre of the North End attack, he scored in perhaps his first game, the 5-1 defeat of Blackpool South Shore in February 1883. A fortnight later he was again 'in the thick of it' against Blackburn Olympic.**(3)** His particular attentions were reserved for the opposing goalkeeper, and from this is said to have come the verb 'to Belger'. Put simply, 'He gave an impetus to the practice of taking the keeper'. Having helped to define the role of the centre forward, his other lasting contribution to the evolution of the game was thus the legislative clause protective of goalkeepers introduced in 1892.**(4)**

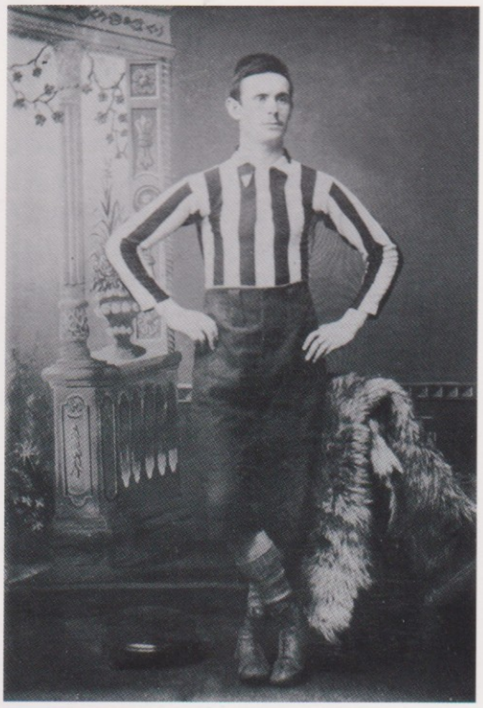
Described by Football Field as a very quiet and unassuming man off the pitch, Belger had a number of nicknames, 'The North End Basher', and 'Belger the Goalkeeper Smasher', among them.**(5)** Of course he was soon a great favourite among the lovers of the beautiful game at Deepdale. The Darwen goalkeeper, Holden, knew what to expect, and before one game asked a pal to point 'The Smasher' out to him. Alas the wrong player was identified and as the unfortunate, **Came full bang at Holden and was promptly despatched over the latter's shoulders against the back of the goal the Darwen goalkeeper could not conceal his glee, and shouted, 'Come ageon Belger'. Belger was not far away, and heard the remark, whereupon he dashed at Holden, and replying 'Here I am!' sent the latter flying, amid the cheers of the crowd.(6)** Holden however took his mistake in good part, and turned it against Belger by turning a somersault to show the crowd that he was undamaged. Quite a number of important wins were only achieved after the opposing custodian had been roughed up in this way.

Yet Belger was also a skilful ball player and dribbler, aggressive and well capable of 'passing all the backs' when required. In a 5-0 defeat of Blackburn St. John's, for example, 'Belger obtaining possession made the run of the day, traversing the whole length of the field'.**(7)** His 'screw shot' or 'side screw' was often commented upon. Frequently this was used to provide crosses into the centre for a fellow forward to head at goal. This was another novel technique which the side brought into the game. The early professors were quick to find places for their mates, and Belger was instrumental in bringing David Russell from their village of Stewarton in Ayrshire. Sadly Belger's health was not good, and by November 1884 he was reported to have returned to Scotland for a rest. The following month, playing at Deepdale, he suffered a broken right leg just above the ankle. Several people in the crowd fainted, and he was taken to the Infirmary where he stayed until mid-January. Collecting books were issued, and 'a good round sum' was quickly raised for him, 'Preston folks have too great an affection for the members of their almost invincible team to behave towards them in anything but a handsome manner'. Jack Belger, North End's first footballing hero, never played again, and so missed the great days of the 1880's. He died prematurely in 1895.**(8)**

DEEPDALE'S FIRST MASTER: NICHOLAS JOHN ROSS

Belger was replaced as captain by Jack Ross. Born in Edinburgh on 6 December 1862, Nicholas John left school at the age of 11 following the death of his father. As an apprentice flagger and slater he set up his first team, Edinburgh Rovers, when he was 12. A left winger, he passed on to Edinburgh Hanover, before joining Heart of Midlothian for the 1880-81 season. He won many 'sports' medals, including the gold medal for the quarter-mile in 1882. Despite a bad shin injury, he established himself as the Hearts captain in 1882-3. On 17 July 1883 he 'slipped over' into England. The Preston North End captain returned a year later to marry an Edinburgh lass, and the good lady seems to have taken to Preston very well.**(9)** Ross was a consummate professional, a player many years ahead of his time. Alternatively he thought deeply about the game, and his tragically early death robbed the club of perhaps its best coach. Berry and Allman described him as an 'astute tactician and innovator', and he could dissect a game with a cold intensity his fellows often found unnerving. Football was a science to him, and as such it was amenable to rational analysis.**(10)**

Ross was a vital factor in the team's success, driving the team forward from deep in defence. It is no co-incidence that the end of the Invincible era coincided with his own illness - a factor whose significance has been missed by most commentators on the period. Otherwise inexplicable defeats can be explained by his absence. When Aston Villa recorded a 2-1 win in 1887 it was noted that he was absent. He missed the shattering 6-0 defeat at the hands of Everton in February 1893, and was reported to be 'ill' during the exhausting Old Carthusians cup tie of 1887, the prelude to the Semi-final defeat three days later. Alternatively his return to play a match in January 1894 resulted in the club's last mammoth Cup win, 18-0 versus Reading, with the by now dying man scoring six! He was a leading member of the team's band of 'hard men', and with Sandy Robertson,



NICHOLAS JOHN ROSS, 1886.

FULL BACK, BORN IN EDINBURGH IN 1862. A FOOTBALLING RATIONALIST, ROSS WAS THE FIRST OF NORTH END'S TRULY GREAT PLAYERS, STANDING ALONGSIDE MCCALL, JAMES AND FINNEY. HE DID MUCH TO DEVELOP THE ROLE OF THE ATTACKING CENTRE HALF, AND THOUGH IN EFFECT A DYING MAN HE SCORED SIX GOALS IN A CUP GAME AGAINST READING. HIS LOSS, COMBINED WITH THAT OF WILLIAM SUDELL IN 1894 WOULD HERALD THE END OF THE AGE OF THE INVINCIBLES. HAD HE LIVED HE MAY HAVE GONE ON TO BECOME A GREAT 'TRAINER-MANAGER'. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

Davie Russell, Geordie Drummond and Jack Belger frequently drew the ire of opposing supporters. Finding Rovers' Jimmy Brown too much of a handful, his 'dire threats' could plainly be heard around the ground. Ross caught up with him with minutes to play, and Brown did not play again for two months.**(11)** After a game against Bolton Wanderers, both he and Drummond were stoned by the crowd. When Ross briefly joined Everton, the Preston press became extremely critical of his game, and quoted Mr. Nisbet, the former Everton secretary: 'Ross was often an unfair if not cruel player, and more liable to bring disgrace than honour to his team'.**(12)** This line was of course quickly reversed on his return to the fold. Typically when a group of Preston players joined a Fleetwood trawler for a fishing trip in rough weather, only Ross stuck it out.**(13)**

Jack Ross added much to the tactical development of the game. His long passes forward could quickly turn defence into attack via 'route one', and he is said to have originated use of the back pass, and so to have introduced the goalkeeper more properly into the tactics of the game. At Preston he developed the role of what was to become the attacking centre half, using the half backs to 'take the man while he sees to the ball'. He was also an agent in the rising status of footballers, being the first of his trade to be introduced formally to royalty, shaking hands with the Prince of Wales before the celebrated game with the Old Corinthians at the Oval in 1887. Trainer later recalled a conversation between the ankle-tapping Ross and Cobbold the 'fast dribbler' of the Corinthians: 'Ross, I wish you would not kick me on my ankles' - 'Keep your feet away from the ball and I won't'.**(14)**

In August 1888, Ross left Preston after a dispute with William Sudell. Tempers were lost, and regrettable things said by both parties. Ross promised to do 'wonderful things' against Preston when the teams next met, and Sudell prophesied, 'that Ross had made his name at Preston and would bury it at Everton'. Both were wrong. Wealthy Everton were pleased to acquire 'the champion full back in the world', and 4,000 spectators turned out to see a practice match. Despite the usual dire predictions by many North Enders, the season 1888-9 did not turn out quite so bad, and with his place taken by Holmes, Ross was pilloried in the local press. After a game against Aston Villa, 'An unseemly fracas occurred, Ross wanting to attack Hodgetts for a mutual collision. The umpires interfered, and challenges were interlaced with shouts, Ross uttering dire threats'.**(15)**

In the early days press interviews with players were unheard of, but an interview given by Ross during his sojourn at Everton was widely reported. Footballers thus began to emerge as individuals, and to be given a station considerably higher than that of the working class from which many had temporarily emerged. Ross had left Preston after a dispute over money: **'Your leaving of Preston caused some surprise' - 'Yes it did, and I've been peppered for it pretty freely: Quite a repetition of the slagging I got when I left the Heart of Midlothian club and crossed the border to join Preston North End. I like Liverpool, and expect to get along all serene. You see I've been more or less used to a large seaport nearly all my life. Of course I've knocked about a good deal. I travelled over 12,000 miles in one season playing football'.(16)**

Although Ross unforgivably denounced life in Preston as 'too slow', it was discretely reported that his wife did not like Liverpool. In late-September, the harsh press line in Preston was modified. It was admitted that North End missed his 'guiding intellect to arrange the men', and a particularly hostile account of one of his Everton performances was retracted. Everyone awaited his appearance at Deepdale in December, when he would have to confront his own brother Jimmy. Jack Ross was the last to walk out, 'When Ross stepped on the field he had a hearty reception, which was repeated as he and Mr. Sudell greeted each other in midfield'. Ross lost the toss, and allowed Jimmy to get the better of him after the two had spent some time avoiding each other. North End won the game 3-0. Ross ignored the efforts of the 'boo-boys' to intimidate him, and 'a member of the executive' ordered the 'Tommy Talker band' to stop their efforts to disrupt the game. The manly handshake between Ross and Sudell was of the greatest significance, for on 29 December the Lancashire Evening Post reported, 'Ross still has his admirers, not a few of these would be only too pleased to learn that the rumour as to his return to the North End fold was true'.[17] The glory days continued, but Ross had missed his Cup winner's medal, and for the rest of his life he cursed his folly in ever leaving Preston North End. On his death bed he was reported to have urged his brother to promise him never to make the same mistake.

THE GRAVE OF N. J. ROSS, PRESTON, AUGUST 2000.
BURIED WITH HIS EDINBURGH BORN WIFE MARGARET, A LADY WHO ENCOURAGED HIM TO RETURN TO NORTH END, JACK ROSS'S GRAVE BEARS THE INSCRIPTION: 'ERECTED BY PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION'. (PHOTO: AUTHOR)

Tragically, it was in death that Jack Ross made his greatest statement as to a footballer's new-found significance in society. He suffered a knee injury at the start of the 1891-2 season, and his appearances were often interrupted.[18] On 28 October 1893 he played brilliantly in a 3-2 defeat of Everton, but then missed a 1-0 defeat by Blackburn Rovers, apparently having been 'out of sorts for some time'. On 16 November it was reported that 'the bilious attack of last Saturday has developed into influenza, and he will be absent from the ranks of the team for some time'. On 1 December an 'alarming statement' was circulating about his condition while he apparently recovered at Southport.[19] By the end of December he was looking a lot better, walking 12 miles a day, and was hoping to get back. He was set to play on 13 January, but felt ill. A week later it was reported that he had pneumonia.[20] After his last game against Reading, the club was criticised for playing him 'when he is obviously ill'. After a course of hydropathic treatment at Matlock he was sent on a cruise to Madeira.[21] His absence from the side had resulted in a drastic slide, and North End were now being openly described as a 'Once famous club'. At the end of July 1894 it was announced that he was too ill to play in the following season. On 4 August Ross's health deteriorated again, and he was sent to recuperate in a cottage at Longridge. He died three days later aged 31, at his home, 37 Berry Street, Avenham Lane. He had seemed well enough at 11am that morning, but had suddenly worsened and died from 'the after affects of influenza' - tuberculosis. He left his wife, and five children under nine years of age. 'Amidst many manifestations of regret' at his funeral, large crowds gathered near his home and at Preston Cemetery, and all along the route blinds were drawn. Mr. Sudell and the new 'Directors' attended, and floral tributes from the North End club, and Blackburn Rovers were prominent. Jimmy Ross withdrew his demand to play for Liverpool FC. Ironically, the Football Field's obituary noted, 'Perhaps no living player tried to take better care of himself'.

THE LOCALS

Fred Dewhurst was born at Fulwood in 1863. He excelled at cricket and football while at school in Chesterfield, returning home just as the club adopted the game. A left winger, his game improved greatly, and he became 'a student' of the passing game, 'but likes to break away and dribble'. Despite many offers he preferred to stay at Preston, and became an important member of the team alongside Belger and Jack Ross. An educated man, and a master at Preston Catholic

Robert Henry Howarth, 1886.
Right full back, born in Preston, 23 years old in 1889, weight 13 st, 5'-11" tall. Joined North End 'when the Association Rules were being adopted'. International. (National Football Museum)

College, Dewhurst served as committeeman and club secretary while still playing, and was thus an important link between the players and the executive. At formal events he was a capable public speaker. He was described as 'A sprightly looking young fellow, with pleasant face and brown curly hair, standing erect to the height of 5' 11" '. His background was thus rather different from the rest of the team, and he was asked to play for the Corinthians. In the Gentlemen v. Players match of 1886 he played for the former, whilst Jack Ross, Russell, Graham, Goodall and Drummond represented the latter, and travelled separately. Yet professional sport could increasingly transgress social boundaries, and in 1889 Fred Dewhurst probably became the first Roman Catholic to receive the FA Cup as the captain of a winning side. He also died very prematurely, in 1895.**(23)**

Robert Henry 'Bob' Howarth, Jack Ross's partner at right back, was born in Preston in 1866. He played cricket for St. Paul's and rugby for Preston Excelsior, before appearing at Deepdale in a medal competition when the Association game was first taken up. He became a second team player, graduating to the first in October 1884. He played for Lancashire the following year, and in 1889 it was said that 'on present form he cannot be surpassed in cool and sure tackling'. At the start of the 1891 season he fell into dispute with the club over wages, and having been offered £3 per week, summer and winter, he joined Everton. A solicitor by profession, he remained a staunch North Ender, attending the 1922 Cup Final. He died on the eve of the 1938 Cup win.**(24)**

The third Preston Invincible was Robert 'Bob' Holmes. The longest surviving member of the team, Holmes lived to see, or play in, all the North End Cup Finals to date, apart from that of 1964, and claimed to 'never miss a match'. He vehemently denounced the referee after the 1922 Cup Final fiasco. In the early years of the Second World War he is remembered telling one recruit at Deepdale, 'That's not a balloon Tom, play it along the ground'. He gave many interviews late in life, and so became one of the most important sources of club history. Born in 1867, he attended Croft Street School and played for the Olympic cricket club on the Marsh and Preston Olympic, and made his debut for North End reserves against Higher Walton. Before his second match he recalled having worked a straight 24 hour shift on the railway. After leaving the game he became a successful trainer and coach to Blackburn Rovers, and a referee. He vividly recalled the class differentiation in the game, and how he and Dewhurst played in a representative match together, but travelled separately and used separate changing rooms. He claimed to have been earning just 10s a week from football during 1889, while working as a barman. The most he ever earned was £3-10s-0d per week, and during the 1890's he became an important figure in the fight to establish a trade union for players. In 1951 he described the great slope 'down the hill' for which Deepdale had been famous, and the three different strips he had played in: red and white halves, red and white stripes, and white shirt and blue shorts. Before he joined the club they had played in blue and white hoops. He played for England seven times, and captained both the English National and League sides. His last game for North End was played on Boxing Day 1902. The text of a BBC broadcast he made in 1938 survives. He was at pains to stress that the Invincibles of 1885-91 would be no push overs in modern football, and that all really good sides had sought to copy the original Deepdale model. By skilled passing the ball should be made to do the work, and Sudell would have been 'stamping mad' at the rush, skied balls, and wayward passes of the modern game.(25)

IN THE ENGINE ROOM: THE HALF-BACK LINE

David Kennedy Russell, born in 1861, became 'a centre half of remarkable judgement and acrobatic skill'. A player with Stewarton Cunninghame recommended by Belger, and one of the first 'imports', he became, oddly enough, the first North End player to represent Lancashire. Perhaps the most colourful member of the side, and at 13 stones one of the heaviest, he later played for Nottingham Forest and Ardwick (Manchester City). His greatest moment came when he scored the single goal that defeated West Bromwich Albion in the FA Cup Semi-final of 1889. He became a professional comedian and music hall artiste. Trainer told the tale of how Sudell and the team had gone to watch a Lancashire Cup game at Blackburn. Equipped with opera glasses, they went on to the music hall, and acted to be shocked at seeing their team-mate singing on stage. Having disrupted his act to everyone's amusement, Russell stormed off stage and cornered them in their seats: **'Get out of this place, and never speak to me again. You have queered my pitch. North End players may be good footballers but they are not gentlemen. I shall never play for the club again'.** This of course served only to make the joke a better one! He died in his sleep at the age of 56, at his home in Stewarton in January 1918, leaving a widow and family.(26)

DAVID KENNEDY RUSSELL, 1886.
CENTRE HALF BACK, BORN IN AYRSHIRE, 24 YEARS OLD IN 1889, WEIGHT 13 ST, 5'-10" TALL. JOINED PRESTON 1883. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

Alexander Sanders 'Sandy' Robertson, was one of the initial influx of Scots from Edinburgh. Born in 1860, the right half back, played for the St. Bernard's club as a youth, and frequently represented Edinburgh County, captaining the side twice. In 1889 it was said of him, 'In pretty half-back play and judgement in feeding his forwards he cannot be surpassed'. An ever present in the team, he had the great misfortune to be left out of the 1888 and 1889 Cup Final sides. He later emigrated to South Africa, like Sudell. He returned to Europe with the South African Scots during the Great War, was wounded at the age of 53, and returned safely home. He was remembered with great affection by his team mates gathered in London for the 1922 Final.(27)

The third member of the half-back line was 'Jack' Graham. Born in Craighalls, near Ayr, in 1857, at 32 he was oldest team member and the 'father of the side' in 1889. A quarryman, he had a fine burly physique, and had won many cups for mile and half mile races. Nicknamed 'Safety Valve', he was rarely injured, and an extremely consistent player. He was a fine tackler and an astute placer of the ball. He showed great endurance and courage. Having broken his collar bone in a game against the Corinthians, he refused to leave the pitch for medical help saying, 'I can't leave my pals in the lurch'. Though ill with cancer, he attended the 1922 Cup Final party wearing his 1889 winner's medal. His later career illustrates the hardships former players generally faced, since their playing days were too short to build up much in the way of savings. By the mid-1890's Graham was working in the coal mines. Still employed there 30 years later in the 1920's, his final years were hard ones. He died on his 70th birthday in 1927. Walter Pomfret 'and his Preston friends' had helped him out, and his daughter wrote that this 'had made his last days ever so comfortable'.**(28)**

FIRE POWER AND THE BIG GUNS

The sight of five or six North End forwards lining up to rush down the hill towards the opposition's goal, urged on by Jack Ross and the heavy brigade, must have been fearsome. Having played with the St. Bernard's club, James D. Ross came to Preston after his brother in 1883. An inside right, he subsequently moved to centre forward to accommodate Sam Thomson. At 5' 7" and under 11 stone, he was the smallest man in the team; a 'Little Demon', 'one of the most dangerous men in the kingdom' with 'one of the deadliest shots in the game'. He managed eight goals against Hyde United, and half a dozen in the 9-1 Cup defeat of Bolton Wanderers in December 1887. That year he found the net in seven of the eight Cup games North End played, literally scoring a score of goals. His most controversial game came in October 1886 in the Cup tie against Queens Park. A few weeks earlier the Preston Scots had beaten them 6-1, the greatest defeat in memory and 'a national disaster' on a par with Flodden and Culloden. Before an enormous Hampden crowd the younger Ross committed an atrocious foul on Queens Park's Harrower.**(29)**

The crowd poured onto the pitch to get Ross with cries of 'Knife him' and 'Shred him'. The whole of the team were set upon, and the dependable Graham seems to have shielded Ross, who was 'hitting out freely with his fists', though another account has him 'blubbering like a baby and shaking with fright'. A riot at Central Station was only averted when the railway authorities told the mob that Ross had been taken to the Strathbungo lock-up. During a dinner that evening Sudell apologised for Ross's behaviour. North End had won 3-0 and the toast 'The North End club', was drunk. This was not the end of the row, of course. The Scottish press continued for some time to carry progressively worse details of Harrower's injuries, and ultimately an announcement of the latter's generous forgiveness of Ross for having nearly killed him. Eventually a feud between the

JOHN GORDON, 1886.
OUTSIDE RIGHT, BORN IN GLASGOW, 26 YEARS OLD IN 1889, 11ST 7LB, 5'-9" TALL. JOINED NORTH END IN DECEMBER 1883. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

Lancashire Evening Post and the Scottish Athletic Journal developed. When the Scottish press announced that 'W. Harrower will not play again thanks to Ross', the Preston paper concluded that if this was so, he must have been 'played out anyway'. Ross himself was often at the receiving end, and in December 1887 it was reported that his digestive organs had been upset by a charge.(30) He was frequently accused of playing-up injury and tricking referees, but 'Lucifer' in Sport and Play predicted correctly that 'When the two Ross's die out of the North End team its glory will probably have departed'.(31) Ross junior was one of the first players to use his celebrity to try to make a living independent of football, and opened a cricket and football outfitter's shop in Fishergate. During his brother's illness he was frequently in dispute with the new 'directors' over wages, and after Jack's death he too joined the exodus to Merseyside to join Liverpool FC.(32)

Jack Gordon, a former Port Glasgow player, was 20 when he joined North End in December 1883. He seems to have been quite genuinely working as a joiner in Leyland at the time. Playing at outside right, he was noted for his 'magnificent screw shot'. His accurate crossing of the ball was an important feature of his game, and with a suitable centre forward, a new aspect of the game could thus be developed. Accordingly, Berry and Allman give him the credit for having 'brought headwork into play as an offensive stratagem'. He lived to attend both the 1922 and 1937 Cup Finals.(33) Sam Thomson, who was born in Wellwood, Ayrshire, in 1862, became a Scottish international, and inside right for Glasgow Rangers. He joined North End in March 1884, playing at left wing or centre forward, and winning 'hosts of admirers for his clever forward play'. As Belger's successor, Thomson scored the third goal against Wolves in the 1889 Cup Final, and later went on to play for that club. The recent death of his wife caused him to miss the 1922 Final, and in the late 1920's he was a licensee.(34)

George 'Geordie' Drummond was the team's most versatile player, and a master of the Scottish short passing style. He was born in 1865 and was another of the Edinburgh contingent of 1883. It may be significant that his first team, 'Beavers', quickly earned the nickname 'Ragged and Dangerous'. Like Sandy Robertson and Ross the younger, he had played for the St. Bernard's club. He could occupy any position, including goalkeeper, played cricket for the Preston club, and won prizes for sprint races. His positions ranged from inside right to 'left outside wing', and later in his career he returned to half back, a position he held during North End's Cup win. Drummond was described as 'a splendid dodger and dribbler', with 'a powerful screw shot when at his best'. A run of poor form led to his losing his place, but he came back successfully in a more defensive role. During a visit to his home town in 1888, Drummond showed the team the very spot where as a boy he had left his basket of bread whilst he went for a 'kick-about'. On his return the baker's boy found that his basket had been stolen, and he was in trouble.(35) As a

GEORGE DRUMMOND, 1886.

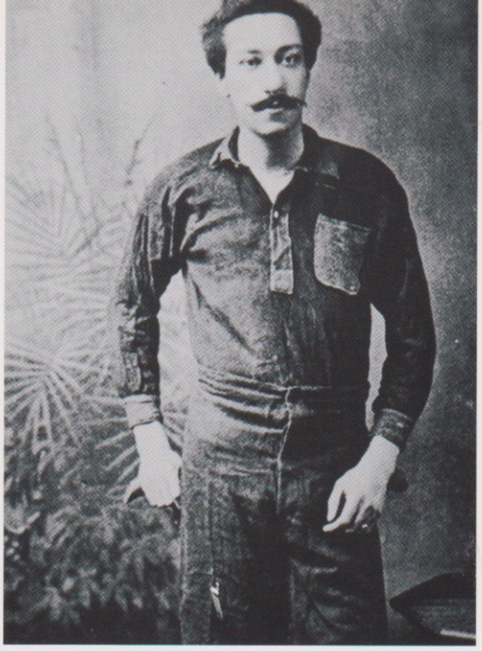
HALF BACK AND LEFT OUTSIDE WING, BORN IN EDINBURGH, 24 YEARS OLD IN 1889, 12ST 3LB, 5'-9" TALL. JOINED NORTH END IN 1883. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM) player he was never far from controversy. During the Rovers match of 1884, he charged Lofthouse: **Whereupon, the latter retaliated in a very unfair style by kicking Drummond's posterior. There was then every sign of a hand to hand encounter; but by the influence of other players nothing unusual took place, and it was better that it ended so.(36)**

In December 1892 Drummond was suspended to almost the end of the season for a foul on Oswald of Notts County, 'with the aim of doing him serious injury'.**(37)** This remarkable game took place in a snow storm, with North End playing down the hill and against the drifting snow. Drummond was sent off, but returned to score four times! In the second half sleet turned to rain, and the light worsened as North End built up a 6-0 lead. At this point, as their players were reported to be 'screaming' after mere 'accidental' knocks by the Preston men, County left the field. Sudell strode across to demand the reason, and they claimed to be suffering from the extreme cold. Six players came back and prevented Preston scoring further by clever use of the off-side law. The club loftily accepted Drummond's ban 'in order to keep the game pure', but the local press claimed that he had only 'slightly tapped Oswald' and urged the County players in future to learn to hold their tongues.**(38)** The newsmen could also incur his wrath: **Last Saturday Drummond, of the North End team, threatened personal violence to our representative on account of recent criticism of his play. This is not the way to secure favourable mention.(39)** He stayed on with the club after his career ended, training the teams which won the 1904 Second Division Championship and finished runners-up in the First Division in 1906. In January 1918 'Perseus' ventured his opinion that Drummond, by then dead, had been perhaps the most gifted of the 'Invincibles'.**(40)**

BILLY ROSE, 1886.

JOY'S SUCCESSOR IN THE DEEPDALE GOAL. AN AMATEUR IN THE SOUTH OF ENGLAND, ROSE SHOCKED THE ESTABLISHMENT BY JOINING THE PROFESSIONALS IN 1885. THE DEATH OF HIS WIFE BROKE HIM AND SHATTERED HIS CAREER WITH PRESTON. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

John 'Johnny' Goodall was a comparatively late recruit. He was born in London in June 1863 of Scottish parents, and when the family returned north, Goodall began his working life with the Glenfield Iron Co. He played for a succession of Kilmarnock clubs, but migrated to Bolton in search of work, finding employment at Entwistles as an iron turner. He was recruited by Great Lever, before joining North End in 1886, and later played for England. Berry and Allman describe him as 'a centre forward of such subtlety and craft that he was regarded as a missionary in a game that was still more muscular than skilful'. As analytical as Jack Ross, he went on to write a study of the game, and has been regarded as 'the founder of scientific football'.**(41)** He was an important influence on the career of Steve Bloomer of Derby County, and his departure to that club heralded the break-up of the great Preston side. He once scored a triple hat trick against Dundee Strathmore and played into his fiftieth year. During the first war he was said to be a canary breeder in Norwich, and he joined the official party for the 1922 and 1937 Cup Finals.**(42)**



Arthur Wharton, 1887.

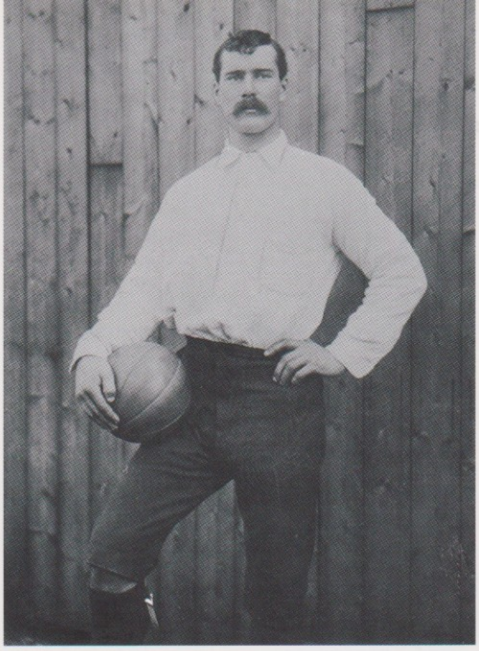
A goalkeeper, Wharton was brought in as cover for Rose, who would not become eligible to play Cup games until 1887-88. Accordingly he played for North End in the games of 1886-87. Now recognised as the first black player in professional football, he was one of the outstanding athletes of his time, though by no means a specialist goalkeeper. He was extremely popular with the crowds, and a great trickster. One of his best tricks was to watch the game from his cross bar. James Trainer was later known to lie down for a rest in his goalmouth. These were generally not taxing times for North End custodians. Had Arthur Wharton been born a hundred years later, he would doubtless have been considered one of the world's great athletes. (National Football Museum)

THE CUSTODIANS

The position of goalkeeper perhaps caused William Sudell the most problems. W.C. ('Billy') Rose was a rather different sort of import. A joiner by trade, he had a first class southern amateur pedigree, having played for Small Heath and the Swifts. He had recently played for the Corinthians against North End at the Oval, when Sudell pulled off his shock signing in March 1885. He replaced the club's first specialist, the local man W.J. Joy, who had played in the Upton Park match, was reported 'to be still going strong' at the age of 83, and died in 1947.[(43)] Rose would only qualify to play in Cup matches in 1887-8, and for the Cup games of 1886-7 the club secured the services of Arthur ('Darkie') Wharton as an 'amateur'. The death of his wife caused him to suffer a severe breakdown, and Rose left Preston suddenly, leaving only a short note to the management: 'Dear Sir - I shall not care to play football for a time. I think of going away somewhere until I get more settled and will see you when I return'. He was not signed at the start of the 1887-8 season, and there followed a dispute with the club over money they appear to have loaned to him. He recovered, and went on to play for Wolves.[(44)]

Wharton thus became the first black player in 'professional' football. He was also a leading athlete, and a successful cyclist and runner. In 1886 and 1887 he won the AAA 100 yard championship. The 1886-7 season saw North End able to make their first sustained challenge for the FA Cup. 'Mr. Wharton' played in the 6-0 defeat of Witton in the second round; 'Wharton made his first appearance at Deepdale, and on stepping on the field was heartily cheered'. Though popular with the crowd and famous for his tricks - such as pulling the crossbar down to thwart a shot on goal - he was blamed (rightly or wrongly) for the Semi-final defeat by West Brom in March 1887. Wharton was not a specialist goalkeeper, and could only provide a short-term solution to North End's problems. These were solved by the signing of Trainer as Rose's long term successor at the start of the 1887-8 season, and the recruitment of Dr Mills-Roberts for Cup games.[(45)]

James Trainer became the first of North End's long line of great goalkeepers. Born in Wrexham in 1863, he joined Bolton Wanderers in 1885 and moved to Preston in 1887, just a few months after his former club's 12-1 thrashing at Deepdale. He represented Wales in the years 1887-99, and played his last game for North End at Bury on 12 February 1898. 'Perseus' considered him an all round athlete, cyclist, boxer, bowler and billiards player, 'equally good at low shots as the high ones, while at catching a ball driven obliquely he was acknowledged amongst students of the game to have been without equal'. He established



James Trainer, 1887.

The first of Deepdale's long serving goalkeepers. Trainer was born in Wrexham, joined North End in 1887, and played until 1898. An all round athlete, good at boxing and most sports, he died in London of consumption in 1915. (National Football Museum)

himself as a licensee in Preston, at the Black-a-Moor's Head and the Lamb Hotel. Trainer 'later fell on rather strained times, and drifted to London'. He died of consumption of the throat in 1915, and is buried in Paddington Cemetery.(46)

During the great Cup campaigns of 1887-8 and 1888-9, Trainer's place was taken by another Welshman, R. H. Mills-Roberts. Born in 1863, he played both rugby and football at university, and whilst at St. Thomas's Hospital played for the gentlemen's sides, Crusaders, Casuals and the Corinthians. Playing for the latter he encountered, and was impressed by, North End. Establishing himself as Trainer's rival in the Welsh side, he asked to play for North End in 1887, by which time he was house surgeon at Birmingham General Hospital.The following year he moved on to Stroud G.H. He was reported to be extremely nervous during the 1888 Cup Final. Interestingly, it was suggested in 1915 that Trainer's qualification period had been cleared by the Semi-final of 1889, but that Sudell felt it ungentlemanly to break his agreement with Dr. Mills-Roberts. Accordingly the long serving Trainer never won a Cup winner's medal. Mills-Roberts returned to North Wales where he is still remembered for his sterling work among the quarrymen and their families. He served in the Great War, and was a popular figure at the subsequent North End Cup Finals.(47)

CREATING THE MODERN GAME AT DEEPDALE

The Invincibles were thus perhaps the most innovatory side ever. Under William Sudell's guidance, they contributed, both individually and collectively, to the creation of the modern game at Deepdale. In conjunction with his senior players, Sudell redefined the tactics of the game. In the very early days teams played a dribbling game with nine forwards and two defenders. Individuals made 'forceful rushes' at goal, with team mates following behind ready to pick up any loose ball. By the 1870's seven forwards was the norm, comprising two men on either wing and three men in the centre. Behind

The Three Sisters of Deepdale, August 2000.

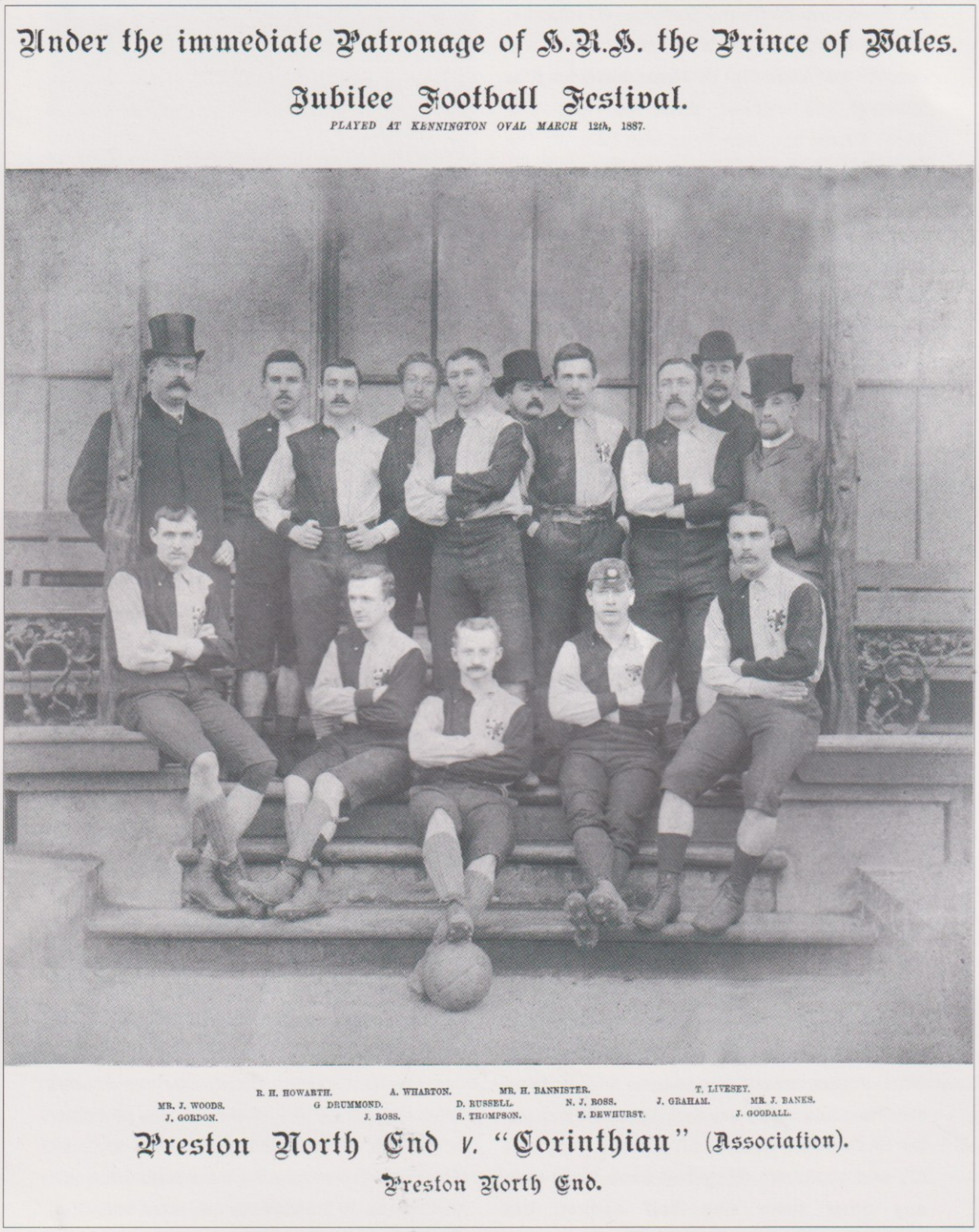
The Deepdale area was largely developed in the 1870's and 1880's, with the construction of the celebrated Canary Islands. This photograph, taken from the Longridge railway bridge, was for a long time the first glimpse that travellers from the south got of the ground. Today the 'sisters' dominate the town's skyline over a wide area - the embodiment of the New North End. (Photo: author) them came half backs and one full back. With the introduction of the passing game, the emphasis switched to team work. Depth is necessary to maximise the range of passing options in this game, and its greatest exponents, Queens Park, developed a formation of six forwards (two wingers, two central forwards and two inside forwards), two half backs and two full backs. The Scottish passing game was thus a significant development of football tactics, but North End took it one stage further by developing the third half back system. One of the two centre forwards in the Queens Park pattern was dropped back to the half back line to become the centre half, to form a 2-3-5 formation. This balanced attack and defence allowed swifter alternations between players, and made individual man marking feasible. It was to remain the basic pattern of English football into the 1930's. The efforts of the individual 'dribbler' continued to be much appreciated however, and it was to be half a century later that the club was to boast its most celebrated exponent.(48)

A Newcastle observer noted the beauty of the North End Scottish passing game in 1890, comparing it to the crude 'taking the man' game played by Sunderland: **The play of the Prestonians was characterised by that nice judgement of distance in passing for which they are famous, every man keeping his place carefully and being always ready for an emergency. Each division, too, could rely on the others, and their play was evenly balanced throughout, while the shooting possessed all the accuracy which one expects of them.(49)** The players studied their game constantly, as William Sudell told the Glasgow Evening News on the eve of the Renton game in January 1887: **The success of the North End team is entirely due to its being a professional combination. There is not a weak spot in the team, and we have been able to bring it to its present state simply by having the men always playing together. Then, the men have an interest in their work ...It is business with them.(50)** It was said of Sudell that he could spot a good player by watching him kick a sardine can!

THE CHAMPION CLUB OF THE WORLD

From the 1883-4 season onwards, North End swept all before them. The 1885-6 season was perhaps the most successful ever. The team won 59 games, drew three, and lost only two, and scored 318 goals against just 60 conceded. By this time the side was generally recognised as the best in the country. In December 1884 North End beat the Corinthians at Preston, 'The great stars of London, with all their cleverness, have been beaten on their merits fairly and squarely'. In September 1886 Blackburn Rovers, the three time Cup winners, were swept away 6-1 at Deepdale in 'as fine an exhibition of scientific football as was ever witnessed'. That year's beaten Finalists, West Brom, were also beaten 7-0, while Queens Park, 'the Champion Team of the World' went down 6-1 in Glasgow. The team did have bad days, and a game against Stoke had to be called off in November 1886, due to 'loss of form'. A 'Wellwisher' advanced a more likely reason: **We have heard and read a lot about professionalism being an evil, but I think a greater evil exists in the temptations to drinking which are put in the way of professional footballers.(51)**

In the 1886-7 season hopes were high that North End would win the Cup. In October, Wharton made his debut in the frightening match away to Queens Park in the first round. After three recent matches against the Scottish club, the goal average now stood 10-2 in North End's favour. Witton were comfortably disposed of in the second round. The first game against Renton in the third round was played as a friendly after the crowd broke onto the pitch when a home goal was disallowed. Although North End were said to be fearful for their lives in Glasgow, they won the second game at Hampden 2-0, after a good breakfast at the Royal Hotel, and a tour of the city by landau.(52) Given a bye in the fourth round, they defeated Old Forresters 3-0 on the Essex County cricket ground. The sixth round was delayed due to players' international commitments, and left



Under the immediate Patronage of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

Jubilee Football Festival.

PLAYED AT KENNINGTON OVAL MARCH 12th, 1887.

R. H. HOWARTH. A. WHARTON. MR. H. BANNISTER. T. LIVESEY.
MR. J. WOODS. G DRUMMOND. D. RUSSELL. N. J. ROSS. J. GRAHAM. MR. J. BANKS.
J. GORDON. J. ROSS. S. THOMPSON. F. DEWHURST. J. GOODALL.

Preston North End *v.* "Corinthian" (Association).

Preston North End.

The Preston side which played the Corinthians, at the Oval, in the Jubilee Football match on 12 March 1887.

Back Row (l-r): R. H. Howarth, A. Wharton, Mr. H. Bannister, T. Livesey. Middle Row: Mr. J. Woods, G. Drummond, D. Russell, N. J. Ross, J. Graham, Mr. J. Banks. Front Row: J.Gordon, J.Ross, S.Thomson, F.Dewhurst, J.Goodall.

The event was organised to celebrate Victoria's Jubilee, and clearly recognised North End's pre-eminence in the round ball game. It followed a rugby match between Lancashire and Middlesex. A fortnight later the players were reported to be very pleased when the club defeated Bolton Wanderers to win its first trophy, the Lancashire Cup. Messrs Banks and Woods had been among the early pioneers of the North End Cricket Club. (National Football Museum) just three days before the Semi-final on 5 March. Old Carthusians proved a difficult prospect, and despite the refereeing of Major Marindin they 'charged and knocked about the North End team'. Worse still, Jack Ross was taken ill. The players then had to travel back to Preston from the Oval, before travelling down to Trent Bridge to face the well rested West Bromwich Albion. North End were 'played out' and lost the match 3-1. The referee was Major Marindin. There was renewed local bitterness against the FA, for making excessive demands on Preston players for representative matches, and for asking that the Old Carthusians game be delayed.**(53)**

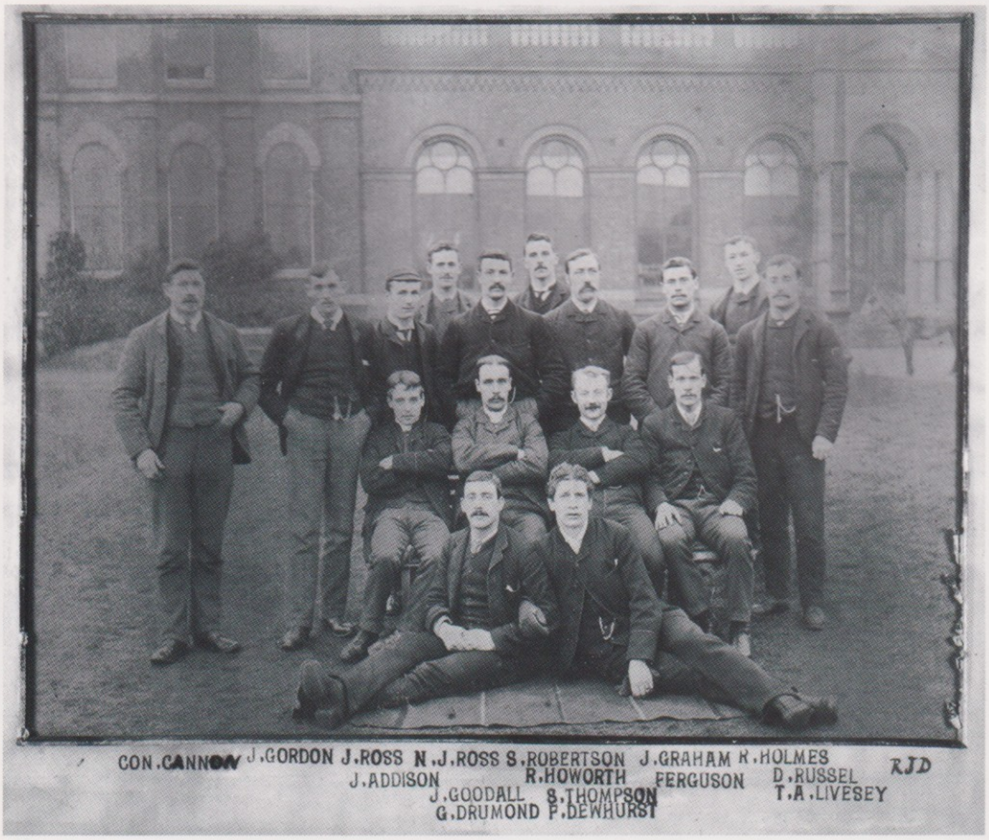
The following week North End drew 1-1 with the Corinthians at the Oval, in Queen Victoria's 1887 Jubilee Football Festival in the presence of the Prince of Wales. This was a tremendous honour for a professional club. They were led onto the field by William Sudell, Jack Ross won the toss, and they kicked off with their backs to the Gasometer End.**(54)** At the end of March North End won their first trophy, the Lancashire Challenge Cup. At the presentation, the orchestra of the 1st Volunteer Battalion of the Loyal North Lancashire Regiment played 'German tunes', whilst Miss Nellie Worsley and Mr. Hesketh Meade sang a selection of tasteful songs. A Mr. McMahon sang 'Thou art so near and yet so far'. Mr. Forrest, vice-president of the LFA; 'claimed for them the honour of being the Champion Club of the World'. He praised Sudell who had promised that he would make Preston North End the finest team, and he had kept his word. Amidst much enthusiasm, Sudell stated that: **He could safely say that if they did not win the FA Cup they deserved it (A voice: 'Tha's hit it!', and applause). They had done more than any other team who had entered the competition ...Unfortunately they were not beaten on their merits (Hear, Hear). They were beaten by a force of circumstances (Hear, Hear). They had the finest team in the world, and with their support he thought they would for many years to come be the Champions of the Football World.** They intended 'to win the Cup come what might'. They had been beaten by all the travelling they had undertaken: **They were not, however, going to sit down and cry. They went for making football popular in Preston, and for having the highest honour that football could confer.(55)**

CUP FINALISTS 1888: SUDELL LOSES A BATTLE

As a minority of the club's supporters began to fear that the team's greatness had passed, the season 1887-8 started in record-breaking fashion. North End scored 18 goals against Dundee Strathmore, followed this with another 18 against Arbroath, before tiring a trifle to score just eight against Glasgow Rangers on the third day. Aston Villa the previous season's Cup winners, were claimed to reckon themselves three or four goals behind North End on a neutral ground. A considerable gambling industry had grown up around the game. In September 1887 the Lancashire Evening Post issued coupons for its readers to enter its 'Spot the Winners competition'. Prizes totalling over £35 were to be offered to the best 'predictors'. Thousands of 'predictions' were received from all over the kingdom, and many ladies entered.**(56)** On the eve of the first round tie against Hyde United the players seem to have backed themselves to break the English goal scoring record, which they thought was 19 goals. At least one supporter is known to have risked a week's wages - a sovereign - on a North End win by ten clear goals. In fine weather, the North End forwards charged at the Hyde goal mouth, scoring after two minutes. The first five goals took 32 minutes, the next seven 12 minutes. At half-time the score was 12-0, and the sovereign was safe. Six more goals followed in 15 minutes. At 90 minutes the score was 25-0, and the referee played an extra five minutes for No.26. Everyone agreed that the Hyde goalkeeper had played well: 'Dewhurst notched the 24th, Jimmy Ross the 25th, and Goodall the 26th'. Such unequal games were not popular, only a small crowd saw the game, and the FA rules for qualification were altered for the following year to avoid such collisions. By the end of 1887 the paper was urging the establishment of a rational league structure.(57)

In November, North End played West Bromwich Albion at Deepdale. Although 3-0 down at half time, the visitors fought back to 4-2. The Lancashire Daily Post advised North Enders that 'the visitors were quite as good as their opponents, and North End will do well to keep this in mind in view of future FA Cup ties'.(58) In the fourth round North End faced Bolton Wanderers, after beating Everton (6-0), and Halliwell (4-0). Though playing at Deepdale, Bolton played in white, and North End caused much amusement in their choice of strip, 'some of them being in red and yellow, some in the old red and white quartered, others in red and black jerseys'. The Bolton keeper, Unsworth, was cheered by the crowd as he kept the score down to 9-1.(59) For the fifth round against the Cup holders, Aston Villa, the team went into training with J.Concannon 'the well known runner' at the Palace Hotel, a hydropathic establishment in Southport. Mills-Roberts had not signed in time to give the 28 days' notice required, and was precluded from the game, feeding further feelings in the press of an FA plot against North End:

We Hear and See: - That the FA council never has nor never will do the North End club a favour, so North End might as well give up asking favours. - That this week's refusal has only made the players more determined.(60)


CON.CANNON J.GORDON J.ROSS N.J.ROSS S.ROBERTSON J.GRAHAM R.HOLMES
J.ADDISON R.HOWORTH FERGUSON D.RUSSEL
J.GOODALL S.THOMPSON T.A.LIVESEY
G.DRUMOND P.DEWHURST
RJD

The North End team in training at Southport, preparing for the 1888 Cup Final.

This is one of the most distinctive of the early publicity photographs, and features the team's special trainer Concannon (extreme left). Jack Ross can be seen on the left of the back row, with his brother Jimmy standing in front to his right. In the Final they would lose to West Bromwich Albion, and fifty years later, on the eve of another Cup Final appearance, Bob Holmes would explain why: they had 'got cold' watching the Boat Race. (National Football Museum)

At the railway station great crowds cheered the team on its way in 'a fine saloon' placed at their disposal by the London & North Western Railway Company. Cheering crowds greeted the train at Crewe, Stafford and Wolverhampton. In Birmingham the team was treated like visiting royalty, for the winners of the tie were expected to go on and win the Cup. By 2pm on the match day it was estimated that approaching 30,000 people were inside the ground: **So serious was the crush that mounted police had to be telegraphed for, and one attack of several hundreds, which swarmed on the field of play, had to be repelled by the foot police and the officials.** Crowd disturbances continued throughout the match, and it has been estimated that the first half lasted 80 minutes. Goals from Jimmy Ross and John Goodall saw North End through 3-1, after trailing 1-0. In Preston a large crowd gathered outside the Evening Post office in Fishergate. The Villa goal was greeted with 'a sea of troubled faces .. and there were murmurs of unspeakable disappointment'. The equaliser was greeted with 'round after round of cheering'. On news of victory 'the wildest enthusiasm prevailed', coloured lights were lit on the balcony of the Conservative club, and fireworks were set off in the streets.**(61)** Villa then disputed the result, arguing that the match should have been called off, but the FA found them responsible for not taking adequate precautions to control the crowd. In Birmingham a different interpretation was put on the decision: **The FA did not give the Cup tie to North End - it was given to Mr. Sudell, whom the FA are somewhat afraid of, because in his 'jolly good fellow' moments he said Preston would retire if they did not get the tie.(62)** Despite fears of the smallpox epidemic raging in Sheffield, North End beat Sheffield Wednesday 3-1 in round six. Mills-Roberts could now play. After two narrow defeats, Blackburn Rovers felt that they 'were getting near to North End'. A decider played in early February 1888 ended 7-0 in favour of Preston, 'the attempts at scoring on the part of the Rovers were extremely feeble'. In the middle of the month Crewe were defeated 5-0 at Everton in the Semi-final. The pitch was very heavy, and the central area 'a puddle hole', so that the heaviest team 'had the best of the game all through, and could have done just as they pleased'.**(63)**

The Final was played at the Oval on 24 March 1888, against West Bromwich Albion, the previous season's defeated Finalists. On the Monday before, the team went to Freshfields with Concannon 'their trainer'. The press carried details of their training programme. Everyone was roused at 6 o'clock, and a walk was indulged in as far as Altcar and back (6 miles). Breakfast was taken at 8-30, and at 11 o'clock all stripped and did some sprinting on a track behind the hotel, finishing up in the forenoon with a short walk before dinner. After lunch 'snow commenced to fall and prevented any exercise'. Railway specials conveyed supporters to London, and the game was to be telegraphed 'to the Telephone Company, who will forward news to Mr. Whiteside's hostelry, from where it will be conveyed by cab to Deepdale, there to be posted on a board and carried round the enclosure'.**(64)** Major Marindin was the referee, West Brom managed just eight shots in the entire game, and North End were beaten 2-1. Bob Holmes later recalled what had happened: **The Final took place on a very cold afternoon in March. It coincided with the date of the Oxford and Cambridge boat race, and foolishly, we decided to watch the university boys in the morning. We got starved to death on the Thames bank, and could not get warm again before the match began. The Invincibles entered the field at Kennington Oval that afternoon in a pitiful state. Yes, we were daft.(65)**

In Preston, supporters were traumatised, and large bets had been lost. Members of the local establishment were also shocked - at how defeat in a mere football match could produce such signs of calamity. A Preston Chronicle reporter described the scenes: **If some great battle had been lost by British soldiers, or if the doom of the nation was rung out, there could hardly have been greater surprise evinced or a more wholesale pulling of faces, in Preston - so great was the faith of some persons in this North End lot, and**

such a hold upon the mind of the local omnium gatherum has football got. What a beautiful, civilised state of things! As the result was confirmed the great silent host dispersed, "as if the bulk of the crowd had been sentenced to be gibbeted or hanged, without any hope of mercy. 'They look terribly glopper' said a person near to us as they were dispersing, 'Serve them right' ". However, 'football devotees' at Burnley were said to be delighted at the result, and those in Blackburn had been 'hoping against hope that North End would be defeated'.**(66)**

The Invincibles, 1888-89: wearing their striped kit, and perhaps photographed at the front of Mr. Sudell's 'dressing tent'. Back Row (l-r): Jimmy Ross, R. Prince (groundsman), D. Russell, R. Brown (Committee man), J. Trainer, R. Holmes. Middle Row: J. Gordon, R. H. Howarth, R. Kelson, S. Thomson, J. Graham, G. Drummond. Front Row: J. Goodall.

Jack Ross was absent, having signed for Everton, and thus was not a member of the 'Double' winning team. A hearty handshake with Mr.Sudell before the League game with Everton, and a marked reluctance on his part to 'fix' his brother Jimmy, would signal his intention to return to the fold. (National Football Museum)

Major Marindin was singled out for particular criticism. A staunch opponent of the professional game, he had played in the Finals of 1872 and 1874 for the Royal Engineers, and had been a long standing foe of William Sudell. An entirely groundless story was put about to discredit the latter, who was said to have asked to borrow the Cup for a team photograph before the game. Marindin is supposed to have replied, 'Hadn't you better win it first'. Similarly, after North End's defeat of West Brom in the Semi-final of the following year, Marindin was said to have entered the losers' dressing room to ask. 'Are you all Englishmen?', and when the affirmative reply came to have added, 'Then I have much pleasure in presenting you with the ball'.**(67)** Leaving these tales to one side, Marindin's refereeing of the Final was a valid cause of concern, and he seems to have been embarrassed when handing the Cup to the Midlanders. Several of his decisions were very odd. On one occasion, as North End seemed likely to score, he stopped the game for 'the claim of a foul', but then 'found that no such claim had been made'. He gave a foul against Russell and cautioned him, when in fact he had been pulled down by Perry of West Brom. After the match Tinsley Lindley the Cambridge captain was reported to have remarked to Ross, 'Well, Jack, you cannot expect to win when playing against 11 men and the devil'. Sudell took defeat in his stride: **A man who cannot lose is not fit to win, and though it would be useless to say I am not deeply disappointed, I shall have another try, and if I am knocked down next year I will try again and again ...It will be our turn to win it some day.(68)** Yet at this time of his greatest defeat, he stood on the verge of his greatest triumph - one which was not won on the field of play.

THE FOOTBALL LEAGUE: MAJOR SUDELL WINS THE WAR

North End also reached the final of the Lancashire Cup in 1888, but refused to play the final (against Accrington) at Blackburn because of the undue hostility of the inhabitants of that place towards them. No alternative being offered, they 'scratched', and Witton took their place. The club's actions had an element of inconsistency, and on the day of the final, North End played West Brom, drawing 2-2 at Deepdale in front of a large crowd. A major crisis quickly developed, when the Lancashire Association responded by suspending the club.(69) The action of a local association suspending the country's leading team - even West Brom thought themselves 'a good second to them' - brought much popular support to the Deepdale cause. The case was brought before the FA council in May. Well used to meetings of this kind, North End could put a strong legal team in the field: **Asked by Major Marindin for a specimen of the language used by the spectators towards North End, Mr. Fairhurst said one expression was, 'Give it to the *******s'. Dr. Smith wanted to know what this meant, whereupon Mr. Woolfall set the committee roaring by replying, 'Pass the ball please'.** The FA did not endorse the ruling of the LFA, and decided that Preston had been within their rights to withdraw. During their 'suspension' from the game, North End had managed to play eight matches! The rights of a club had been recognised, and the decision marked an important stage in the organisation of the game.(70)

The FA's position on a number of issues was changing. Sudell had been appointed a member of a six-man committee to inquire into the whole question of paid players, and at the end of the month the rules were changed to allow members to play for any club they pleased, and local associations were to have no power to stop them. The victory of North End and the powerful northern professional clubs was at first glance an unusual one. In fact, the real target of the FA had been the associations which had for so long turned a blind eye to this development: **A flaw in**

A Reunion of the Old Invincibles, 1900.

Meetings of the Old Invincibles accompanied North End's successes in the first half of the twentieth century. A great gathering of the survivors accompanied the 1922 Final, and as late as 1937 and 1938 reunions were held. Even as the young Tom Finney was picking his way through Preston schoolboy soccer, the survivors maintained that in their prime they would have given anything the 1930's could produce a match. 'Perseus' tended to agree with them, regretting the push and bustle of 'modern soccer'. (National Football Museum)

the laws and regulations of the LFA allows Preston North End to flout that association and be patted on the back in a fatherly manner by Major Marindin. The shirt fronted and tall hat division 'mustered support' to aim a blow at the governors of Professional football teams. North End had stood up for all clubs, and the affair was 'As much a triumph to the captain (WS) as if he had received the Association Cup itself'. Sudell resigned as vice-president of the LFA on 26 May: 'It was, however, thought that the recent dispute of North End should not deprive the Association of Mr. Sudell's services, and he was unanimously re-elected'.**(71)**

Behind the politics of this affair lay the establishment of the Football League. A league composed of professional clubs had been in the offing since the days of Sudell's British Football Association. By the late 1880's many thought that unless a more rational system of organising fixtures and regulating the game was devised professional football would not survive. Crowds wanted well contested fixtures, while a long Cup run made the publication of a fixture list difficult. In any case, the FA Cup itself, based on single random contests, was a very uncertain method of recognising the champion team. Preston North End had not won it. The events leading up to the formation of the Football League were set in motion by William McGregor. On 2 March 1888 he wrote to the five leading clubs, and the first meeting to discuss the formation of a league, took place at the Anderton Hotel, London, on the eve of the North End v. West Bromwich Albion Final. North End's participation was vital to make the scheme a success, and they accordingly failed to attend. In the words of Simon Inglis, Sudell was now 'playing hard to get'. It was decided to invite twelve clubs to play home and away fixtures, six from the midlands and six from the north. Preston headed the list. The move met with support from the Preston press: **The present method of determining the championship is most unsatisfactory. Consequently a movement has been set on foot for promulgating a scheme which will ensure the best teams of the country meeting in club fixtures and playing a certain number of games, and thus settling the question of superiority.(72)**

A second meeting was held at the Royal Hotel, Manchester, on 17 April. William Sudell attended, was elected treasurer, and proposed that the organisation be called the Football League. Two years later he purchased the League Championship trophy. Later meetings hammered out the rules and fixtures, so that the first five games could be played on Saturday 8 September 1888. Only on 21 November was it agreed, 'to count two points for a win, and one for a draw'. The 'Review' of the final season of non-league football, 1887-8, placed North End in first place, having a goal average of 4.4 to 1, followed by Renton, Aston Villa, and West Bromwich Albion. North End had played 50 games, won 45, drawn 2, lost 3, scored 242 goals and conceded 65. The club's record in pre-league football was given as follows:**(73)**

Year	Won	Drawn	Lost	For	Against
1883-4	30	10	4	171	50
1884-5	42	7	6	210	51
1885-6	59	3	2	318	60
1886-7	51	5	7	286	69
1887-8	59	4	7	316	81

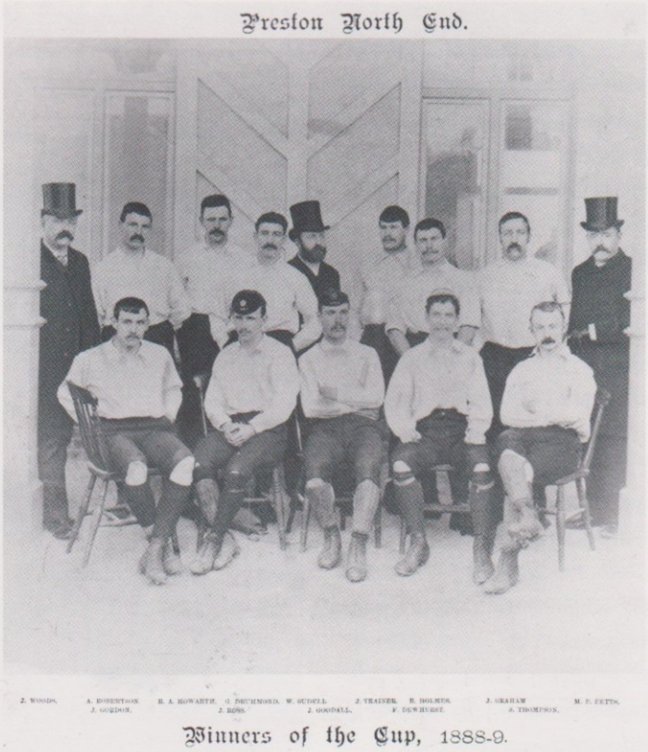
In 15 years North End had progressed from a small town sports club, to the leadership of the footballing world. The club had developed many features of the modern game, and had pioneered systematic professionalism. The 'Invincibles' were not merely a great team, they were the first great team. But to date they had little to show for their years of mastery of English football. They had lost an FA Cup Final, they had won one Lancashire Cup Final, but had failed to turn up for another. Amid widely held fears among the North Enders that the class of 1883 was passed its prime, the season 1888-89 approached...

chapter

4

I fear the club will have to BREAK-UP

By 1888 William Sudell's great North End team had been together for five years. It had quickly emerged as one of the leading teams in the country, and its prestige had enabled the Preston club's management to be extremely influential in the emergence of professional football.


Preston North End.
Winners of the Cup, 1888-9.

'Preston North End FC, Winners of the Cup 1888-89'.

Back Row (l-r): J. Woods, A. Robertson, R. H. Howarth, G. Drummond, W. Sudell, J. Trainer, R. Holmes, J. Graham, M. P. Betts. Front Row: J. Gordon, J. Ross, J. Goodall, F. Dewhurst, S. Thomson.

The title of this photograph is of course misleading, for the Cup Final goalkeeper Dr. Mills-Roberts is missing, and James Trainer has substituted for him. The high top hats worn by the gentlemen suggests the higher ranks of society that professional football now aspired to. (National Football Museum)

Major Marindin and the 'old school' had been forced to an accommodation with Captain (later Major) Sudell, who held important positions on the council of the Football Association, the Lancashire Football Association, and the new Football League. Preston North End's influence among the councils of English Football would never rise to such heights again. Yet the club's achievements seemed to have cut away at the foundations of its continued success. Other, richer clubs now sought to emulate the policy of recruiting the best players to create an artificial 'local' side. In the long term North End would be able to compete on equal terms only when the club's management was able to operate on a long term and planned basis. As the first 'great' club, North End were thus also the first to face the problem of replacing an ageing team, in a competitive environment, with inadequate resources. Many clubs have been unable to overcome this problem, and North End's crisis in 1893-4 was further compounded by the steady loss of team members, the death of their key player, dismissal of their 'manager' of the previous decade, and a change of ownership. That these problems were overcome was little less than a wonder, but it was to be a close run thing.

The club's 'political' achievements of 1888, were overshadowed by the Sudell regime's failure to win the FA Cup in the two previous seasons. The loss of Jack Ross to rich and ambitious Everton, combined with the start of the League, seemed to many to presage the end of the club's golden age. Like the other pioneer clubs in Lancashire, North End would sink into merely local significance. A section of the Deepdale faithful looked forward to the 1888-9 season, as the realisation of their worst fears. Their first league game was played at Deepdale on 8 September 1888. Burnley were beaten 5-2, and Dewhurst may have scored the first League goal after three minutes, though the match kicked off some minutes late. This performance was not thought to be up to standard, and it was reported that 'North End are not up to the job!'. When an opening run of six straight wins came to an end with a draw against Accrington, the team was said to be facing more criticism than at any time in their history. A home draw against Aston Villa was simply 'a disgrace'. The lack of reserves told heavily against the club, players carried injuries, and poor performers were singled out: 'On recent form they deserve all they get...the men can play if they will'.**(1)**

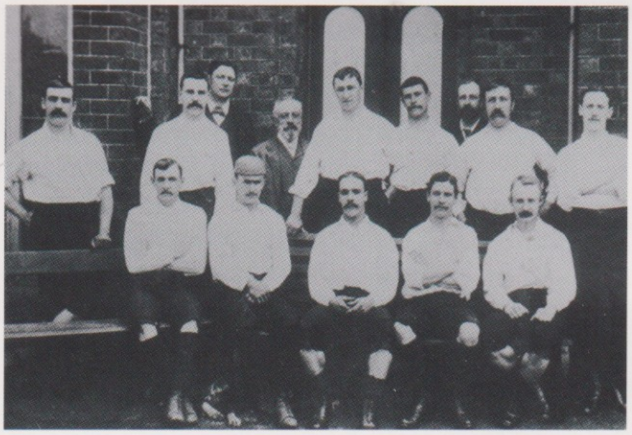
Well into November it was not clear on what system league positions would be calculated, but after 12 games the new two points for a win and one for a draw system, put North End well clear of Aston Villa. Everton with Jack Ross were beaten 3-0 at Deepdale, and despite fears that Jack the Ripper was loose in Nelson, the first league title was secure by early in the new year. This was still a novelty, and did not carry the automatic prestige it bears today. League games were seen as only a part of the football season to February, after which the Cup competition gathered momentum. The impact of professionalism was felt even here, with the large clubs joining the later stages. North End passed through the first three rounds with little difficulty, beating Bootle 3-0, Grimsby Town 2-0, and Birmingham St. Georges 2-0. Facing them in the Semi-final was their Nemesis, West Bromwich Albion. This time neither match congestion, nor the boat race could stop them, and a single goal from Russell took them to the Final.

ANNUS MIRABILIS: THE CONQUERING HERO COMES

The first excursion train to the Final left Preston at 1pm on Friday 30 March. At Cheddington it was stopped, and the passengers cheered as the down Scotch Express carrying the team passed. The team arrived at 6-30pm, and spent the night at the Covent Garden Hotel. Goodall had suffered greatly from travel sickness. At 11pm a rail excursion run by the West Lancashire Railway Company left Preston for Southport en route to the Final. Four hours later, at Penistone near Sheffield, the front axle suddenly failed and most of the 19 carriages were derailed. Men from a nearby steel works pulled passengers clear from the wreckage. Incredibly only one man was killed, and the survivors travelled on to London on a later train.

A crowd of perhaps 30,000 people packed the Oval. Though the pitch had been moved 40 yards nearer to the pavilion than normal, no spectator was closer than 'a dozen yards' to the pitch. North End lost the toss, and Wolves took the Gasometer end. The game was no classic, and the Wolves 'heavy charging', kick and rush style, obstructed North End's natural passing game. Once it became apparent that the Preston players could match their rough play, the Wolves slowed appreciably, enabling North End to control much of the game. On twelve minutes a shot by Ross rattled the bar, for Dewhurst to head home the rebound. A quarter of an hour later another Ross effort passed through keeper Baynton's hands to put North End two up at half time. Halfway through the second half Thomson shot in Preston's third goal. Result North End three, Wolverhampton Wanderers nil - the largest margin of victory in a Cup Final up to that time. Less obviously, two precedents for 1938 had been set: North End had won the Cup after failing in the previous year's final, and a leading player (Sandy Robertson) had missed out on a medal due to a broken collarbone.

After much confusion, Major Marindin, the president of the FA, stepped forward to present the Cup to 'Mr. Dewhurst', the North End captain. The Cup, he agreed, had been 'well won' after 'several near shaves', and no 'true sportsman' could begrudge them their win. North End had won the league without losing a match, and secured the Cup without conceding a single goal. A voice in the crowd added, 'They have won all along the line!'. Dewhurst, a master at the Catholic College, accepted the small trophy, and the other players collected their medals. The captain then thanked the Major for his 'kindly' remarks. It was no secret, he said, that North End had been trying to win the Cup for some years, and now they had succeeded. Having complimented the Wolverhampton men, Dewhurst acknowledged Sudell's role in creating the club: **It is through his exertions that we have kept together for the last five or six years ...Mr. Sudell has been father to the team, and if it had not been for his exertions I do not suppose that we would have been able to win the Cup. I call upon the team to give three lusty cheers for Mr. Sudell.(2)** Sudell rose to speak, and concluded with a dig at the perpetrators of the appeals which had excluded the club from the competition in 1884 and 1886: **I think that the Preston North End team won this cup in a fair and thoroughly sportsmanlike way. (Hear, Hear) I have said, and I hope I shall always be able to say, that if ever the Preston North End team are beaten on the field, we will retire and let our opponents have the pleasure of going into the next round. (Cheers).**



'Preston North End Football Team: Winners of the Football Challenge Cup, and Champions of the Football League 1888-89'. Back Row (l-r): R. W. Hanbury MP, W. E. M. Tomlinson MP, W. Sudell chairman. Middle Row: G. Drummond, R. H. Howarth, D. Russell, R. Holmes, J. Graham, R. H. Mills-Roberts. Front Row: J. Gordon, Jas. Ross, J. Goodall, F. Dewhurst, S. Thomson.

Local politicians, then as now, were quick to realise the importance of being seen to be a North Ender, as the appearance of the town's two MP's here testifies. Dr. Robert Herbert Mills-Roberts played in the Cup run but took no part in the League programme. For some years he and Trainer were rivals for the goalkeeping position in the Welsh national side. On his retirement he was for many years surgeon at a hospital for quarry workers and their families near Llanberis, where his work is still remembered. He developed a number of gadgets to help men who had lost limbs in quarrying accidents, including one to remove their hats when entering the chapel. He died at the age of 73 in 1935. (H. R. Jones, personal communication, National Football Museum)

Tremendous scenes greeted the victorious team on its arrival in Preston. A huge crowd, said to be the largest ever seen in the town, thronged the streets. Among them was a small boy, one James Isherwood Taylor. A carriage took the team through the 'fanatics' to the Public Hall, Sudell holding the Cup, and Geordie Drummond the ball, as the band played, 'Hail the Conquering Hero Comes'. The trophy was placed on a table on the platform, but had to be rescued from 'enthusiasts' who having emptied a decanter of water into it, proceeded to pass the drink around. A special message from the Mayor was read out to the 7,000 people crowded into the hall. The win elevated them to the premier position among the footballers of the world: **Outdoor sports have been important factors in forming and maintaining the manly, robust, invincible character of the British race, and it is most gratifying to know that one's own town can take the foremost place among them.** Fred Dewhurst responded on behalf of the players, while William Sudell was greeted with a great ovation, and the singing of 'For he's a jolly good fellow'. He confessed to be astounded by their reception. The players were a credit to the town, but more importantly, they were a great team! His colleagues on the committee also deserved recognition: 'They had always agreed: in fact, he could say that they had never really disagreed'. Football was a game for the people: **He did not know a single amusement out of which the operative classes had got so much amusement at such a cheap rate as that of football. The richer classes could have their hunting, shooting, fishing and boating, not one of which was in the reach of the working classes, so that the latter had a right to any legitimate amusement within their reach.** He ended on a high note, the Preston North End Football Club were the 'Champion exponents' of Association Football, 'of world wide reputation for the excellence of their general play'.**(3)**

The national and local press were generous in their praise of the Preston club's achievements. The Liverpool Mercury proclaimed: **At last, after a sequence of ill fortune, the most perfect, the most consistent team ever formed in the history of the Association game in England, have attained their just reward, and are the Cup holders.** The Birmingham Daily Post followed in the same vein, and the Manchester Guardian recognised 'the great North End', as 'the greatest club in the world ... by universal consent'.**(4)** The enormous crowds that greeted the Cup's arrival, and the general enthusiasm for a cause that was neither religious nor patriotic, aroused conflicting emotions in the sceptical Preston Chronicle: **When the old Greeks returned from Marathon and Salamis the streets of Athens could not have been more filled: when Titus and his victorious legions marched along the Regina Viarum, or under the celebrated triumphal arch in the Imperial city, the peering of eyes could not have been keener, nor the crushing of the people greater than that seen at Preston, on Tuesday evening, when there appeared on the scene - the footballers! In a curiously apotheosising age we now live, verily.** No more enthusiastic proceedings had ever been seen in the Public Hall. In conclusion, 'The town has a right to feel proud of its champions', sniffed the editorial, 'but the town need not go silly'.**(5)**

CHANGING TIMES

The club's tremendous success in the season 1888-89, has led many writers to disparage North End's later career. The championship was won again in 1889-90, and the club finished runners-up for the next three seasons, 1890-93. In 1893 North End reached the Semi-final of the FA Cup for the fourth time in seven years. In the longer term the club was to be out of the First Division for only five seasons up to the end of season 1924-25. After nine unhappy but interesting seasons in Division Two, 1925-34, the modern club was to enjoy a second golden age that lasted until 1961. Over both the short and the long term, therefore, North End cannot be written off as a significant force in English football after 1889. Clearly the formation of the Football League brought about a levelling up of standards, as rival clubs tried to copy North End's successful methods. With the growth of the transfer fee system in the 1890's, the initiative passed to the larger city-based clubs, and Preston found it harder to attract and keep star players. A significant shift to the detriment of the smaller town clubs thus affected the balance of the game. A similar shift occurred in the 1960's, when the maximum wage was abolished. On each occasion North End's plight was made much worse by the purely coincidental loss of key players; Jack Ross in 1893, and Tom Finney in 1960. On each occasion the club also faced short-term problems of its own making.

By 1890 the core of the Preston team had been together for seven seasons. Under such circumstances all great teams must undergo a period of painful rebuilding and adaptation to more reasonable expectations. Unfortunately this had to be undertaken under wholly new circumstances, in which the initiative was rapidly passing to better placed clubs. The players also found their services much more marketable in the professional environment that North End had done so much to establish. Jack Ross's temporary estrangement to Everton was a clear harbinger. He was followed by John Goodall who sought new challenges for his creative mind at Derby County, with the added bonus of employment for his brother Archie. In 1890 Wolverhampton Wanderers were fined £50 for 'illegally' luring Sam Thomson away. Sandy Robertson's career ended, and both Dewhurst and Geordie Drummond were coming to the end of their playing days. By the start of the 1890-91 season the team had thus lost five key players - Robertson, Goodall, Graham, Dewhurst, and Thomson. David Russell became unhappy at Preston and eventually left for Nottingham Forest. In November 1891, Bob Howarth joined Everton, for £3 a week, winter and summer, wages North End could not match. To make matters worse, the club's traditionally small squad was increasingly hit by injury.**(6)**

Johnny Goodall, 1886.

Centre forward, born in London of Scottish parents, 25 years old in 1889, 11st 10lbs, 5'-9" tall. He joined North End in 1886. International. He later became one of the outstanding tacticians of the early professional game. (National Football Museum)

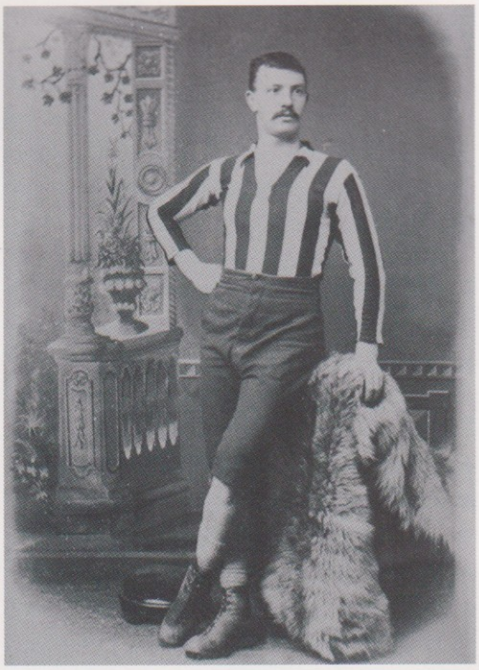
Critically, the management found it more difficult to find new players, and the Scottish game was no longer so open to predators. In October 1891, the club offered 'a Mac from a prominent Scottish club', the large sum of £90 down and £3 a week. He was about to accept when the 'amateur' Third Lanark club had the audacity to offer him 30s per week, and a situation 'in a well known sewing machine factory', worth a further 35s per week.**(7)** Enormous efforts were made to develop local players in the locality: **The team sets a good example ...and if it is known that local players of talent are in future to have a chance of securing a trial at Deepdale, there is little doubt that many will be forthcoming ...Some plan on these lines will have to be followed in future, as it is almost impossible to get first class footballers to cross the border.(8)** Despite a scattering of local 'legends', the simple truth was that for many years the district was to produce only a trickle of suitable players. Since the club was increasingly to be a net provider of players to its richer rivals, and was rarely able to attract players from the big clubs, Scotland was to long remain the nursery of North End teams.

The public attitude towards the players themselves also adapted to the increasingly business relationship. Players became more of a commodity and a means to an end, rather than the end itself which the well known members of the earlier sides had been. One practical consequence of this was that they found themselves facing greater criticism. A small number of examples must suffice. There had always been a tendency to excessive intemperance while Sudell's back was turned, and an incident on Wigan Station (attractive bar-maid, broken glass, railway staff kicked unconscious etc.) received wide coverage in 1891. A club enquiry of course, found 'that the charge is without foundation'.**(9)** During a defeat by Darwen in the Semi-final of the Lancashire Cup, the team was said to have been, 'sweating and blowing as if they had no training for months', and during a subsequent defeat at the hands of Hyde United, some of the team, 'appeared to have forgotten their loyalty to the club or to have cared little for their footballing reputations'. Significantly both of these fiascos occurred while Sudell was reported to be ill.**(10)** A more professional turnout on the pitch was also demanded, as 'Deepdale' complained in January 1891: **Why don't all the Northenders wear the same dress? Most of them do wear the club colours, white shirts and blue knickers. I noticed one on Monday wearing a dirty flannel jersey instead of the usual white shirt: another, after he had discarded his sweater, wore a kind of sleeveless jersey, which caused some unfavourable comment on the stand. North End players should on the field appear respectable.(11)**

Amid these growing difficulties the team continued to perform well. The unbeaten league run came to an end against Aston Villa on 21 September 1889 after 24 games. Three of the first seven games were then lost, but a victory against Blackburn Rovers turned the season around. Only a single game was lost in the remaining programme, and the League Championship was retained. North End only narrowly failed to win the title in the next two seasons. In 1890-91, they lost to Everton by just two points, having dropped four points in their last three games. The Football League minutes reported: **Preston have had to be content with second place this season, a grand result taking into consideration the accidents and illness the team has sustained especially as they have registered less players than any other club in the league.(12)**

The following season four defeats in the first six games was followed by 12 wins and a draw in the next 13. For much of the season it seemed that North End would see off the rising challenge of Sunderland, but only a single point was won from the final four games, and the latter got home by five points. By the end of this season Sudell was seemingly siphoning cash from his employer's business into the club.

In 1892-3 Sunderland pushed Preston into second place again, this time by the wide margin of 11 points. Almost certainly a larger squad of players would have secured the championships of 1891



ALEXANDER SANDERS ROBERTSON, 1886.

RIGHT HALF BACK, BORN IN EDINBURGH, 28 YEARS OLD IN 1889, WEIGHT 12ST 7LB, 5'-9" TALL. JOINED PRESTON AT THE START OF THE 1883-84 SEASON. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM) and 1892, when the club used just 20 players. This number fell to 16 in 1892-3 when the team almost reached the Cup Final. In the circumstances this was as supreme (if foolhardy) an example of man management on the part of William Sudell as any to be found in the annals of the game. To assist the funds too many friendlies had been played, putting a further strain on the team. Critically, had Jack Ross been able to avoid injury in this period - he managed just 13 games in 1890-91 and 16 in 1891-2 - the whole outlook would have been different. As it was, the alarming 'failure' to secure the league title for the third year in succession in 1893 precipitated the greatest crisis in the club's history, and the collapse of the Sudell regime. Such is the narrow divide that separates success and failure in football.

CHAMPIONS OF ENGLAND 1890: THE PRESTON NORTH END BASEBALL CLUB

Members of the club continued to play a full part in the sporting life of the town. Fulwood Park Bowling Club was acquired in 1886, and the North End Bowling Club was established. The green and billiard room were to be at the disposal of members, with many of the leading lights of the old cricket team forming a committee.**(13)** A Curling Club with ice pond was established beside Deepdale, under the rear of what is now the Bill Shankly Kop.**(14)** Football had been a great success, after cricket and rugby, but its lasting appeal was not yet apparent, and the club's openness to new trends was again spectacularly demonstrated by the attempt to introduce baseball as a summer sport in June 1890. Members and ladies were admitted free to games against Derby and Birmingham. Great efforts were made to explain and publicise the game ('rounders in a scientific form'), the admittance fee was halved to threepence, and large numbers of free tickets were handed out.**(15)**

Goalkeeper Trainer quickly became a star of a team which comprised, Hendry, Livesey, Saunders, Maskery, Colford, Stewart, Trainer, Dobson and Hogan. By the end of July, high class play 'was being manifested' on 'the home plate' at Deepdale, and the PNEBBC recorded six consecutive wins to secure the British championship. The players quickly learned the tricks of 'quickly running from base to base'. Their success at this sport was largely due to two American 'professors' Leech Maskrey and 'Mr. Hart', recruited by the Executive. On 16 August a crowd of 1,500 saw North End play Aston Villa at Bolton, 'the aim being to establish baseball in the centres of football'.**(16)** At the end of the first season, in August 1890, a presentation was made to Leech Maskrey, 'captain of the PNEBBC' at the Shelley Arms. William Sudell, 'could say without fear that North End were the best baseball team in England (hear, hear, and applause)'. He hoped to tour America with a football team that could play baseball, and hoped the Americans would be back the next year.**(17)**

In May 1891 'The Spalding Cup for the Amateur Baseball Championship of England' was presented for the previous season's achievement. Some 78 clubs had been established in just 15 months, with a further 17 in Scotland. The club made money, receiving £20 a week from gates, and paying £15 wages. Sudell commented on the game's success in America: **It was very necessary that outdoor sport should be promoted, especially amongst people who were boxed up in factories and workshops ...The working classes should be animated to develop their physical powers and get fresh air ...That was why he was such a supporter of outdoor sport. It was more essential to watch a football or a baseball match than to go to a public house and play dominoes (hear, hear).(18)** In August 1892, North End played host to the New York Amateur Baseball Club. The experiment ended in farce when their manager absconded from their Hotel with the team's money, and the players were forced to walk the streets. Trainer, landlord of the Black-a-Moors Head put them up, while, 'Mr. Sudell also came forward with his usual generosity, and paid the bill at the Bull Hotel, whereby the Americans were able to get their luggage'. During a week in which he had also to contend with agents of the Heart of Midlothian stealing back a player North End had secretly enticed to Preston, Sudell paid the baseball men's train fares to Glasgow, and the boat home. This fiasco was to have an echo in North End's Great American Adventure of 1929.(19)

PRESTON ZINGARI

As the club began to face stronger competition in signing new men, great efforts were made to stimulate the development of suitable players from within the Preston district. Initially it was thought that this might be achieved simply by 'pioneering' the Association game in the town, and in the 1880s a number of local lads did come through. Later more direct efforts were made. In 1885 a policy of 'searching local teams for talent' and running a second team as 'a training school for the first' was adopted.(20) Later a North End Shield competition was tried, but though supporters claimed to support the policy, attendances at games where local players predominated were poor.(21) By 1890, when the need for inexpensive home grown talent was becoming desperate, the Preston Chronicle had to admit defeat, and conclude that the region produced few 'good players', and that accordingly 'the North End club must buy'.(22)

Yet at the grass roots level the Preston district rapidly produced a huge number of teams. In August 1884, for example, the Cemetery Gravediggers were beaten 4-0 by Ribbleton FC. A number of the older cricket and rugby clubs made the transition like North End, including Preston Olympic, Preston Rovers, Preston Swifts and Fishwick Ramblers. As early as 1882 Kirkham, Lostock Hall, Bamber Bridge and Higher Walton had established teams. Leyland had Leyland Olympic, Leyland Rovers and Leyland North End, in addition to the Town team. Set-backs were frequent. In September 1883 Bamber Bridge lost their ground, when it was simply reported that, 'Mr. Hopwood will not let them have it'.(23) To put these dates into context, the Arsenal FC was not founded (as 'Dial Square') until 1886. Local pride apart, and away from the Blackburn Rovers enclave in southern Bamber Bridge, most of these players would regard themselves as North Enders. The diaries of Simeon Vickers record one player's progress through the levels of parish football to the North End first team in the years before the Great War.(24)

Higher Walton FC, composed of lads from G & R Dewhurst's spinning mill, came to regard itself as Preston's second club. Here at least a genuine vein of talent was struck. In 1890 they defeated Blackburn Rovers 5-4, and the following year scored eight against Tranmere. They were of course unable to keep hold of their players, and in September 1892 half of the team signed for South Shore, who amalgamated to form Blackpool FC at the end of that season.(25) They could attract good gates. In March 1883 some 500 people witnessed their 'grand passing game' against Brownedge FC, but in 1887 during a good run in the Lancashire Cup 4,000 saw them play Accrington.(26)

The amateur sides also took part in the FA Cup competition. In the season 1884-5, when North End did not enter, the town was represented by Fishwick Ramblers and Higher Walton. Preston Zingari entered but scratched. Higher Walton took part in each season until 1887-8, when they reached the third round. The voices of the local clubs were also heard in the highest councils of the game. Preston Swifts attended the first meeting of the British Football Association, and Fishwick Ramblers, Higher Walton and Preston Zingari had delegates at the meeting of the Football Association in January 1885 which voted for professionalism.(27)

If the Preston & District League emerged as a useful means of filtering out talented local players, Preston Zingari represented a more serious threat to the North End club. Without Sudell's drive it is possible that this club could have become the holders of the professional football 'franchise' in Preston. Early discussions as to the composition of the 'league' envisaged only one entry from each town. Sudell recognised the danger, and was careful to ensure that the Zingari did not emerge as a rival. In November 1876, the 'Preston Nursery and Pleasure Gardens Company' bought the 44-acre Farington Hall Nurseries on New Hall Lane, next to Preston Cemetery. The Gardens became a popular attraction, with their glass-houses (Peach House, House of Melons, Kitchen Garden etc), a zoo, aviary, a pavilion for music and dancing, a bar and tea room. The death of 'Bully' - a savage monkey - was genuinely mourned by children throughout the town! Sports of all kinds were catered for, including cycling, 'Athletic Sports', and football. Visiting the cemetery was a popular pastime at the time of North End's rise. Many people combined it with a visit to the gardens, and trams left the Town Hall every 20 minutes.(28)

John Graham, 1886.

Left half back, born in Ayrshire, 32 years old in 1889, weight 12st 7lb, 5'-8" tall. Joined North End in February 1884. (National Football Museum)

In their secretary, W. Lewis Moore, the company had a man as innovative as William Sudell himself, and football quickly joined the list of other attractions - band concerts, lady parachutists, troops of 'forest bred lions', Church music, and Jumbo 'the largest animal in the world'. Friction between the two men reached its height in 1882-3 when Sudell was planning the Preston-Scottish side. The threat was clear enough. On 6 May 1882, the Gardens advertised matches including 'Mr. Suter's team (F. Suter, J. Brown, J. Douglas, G. Avery and H. McIntyre) of the Blackburn Rovers', and Darwen FC.(29) At the start of the following season the resident side, Preston Zingari, absorbed the Preston St. Saviour's team.(30) These developments came to a head at the North End AGM of 1884, when Sudell fiercely opposed Moore's involvement with the executive. Preston Pleasure Gardens, he argued, 'were rivals to them', who should not be given 'information of the whole workings of their club'.(31) Though the Zingari developed as a successful second-string club, and were claimed by the Scottish FA to have four former Hearts players in 1885, they did not emerge to threaten Sudell's carefully nurtured monopoly. In 1887 the gardens and their animals were sold off, and a venture which must have brought much interest and happiness into local people's lives came to an end. It could all have worked out very differently, with the cries of wild beasts and monkeys mingling with the shouts of the football supporters in the skies above Preston Cemetery.(32)

FAIR WEATHER FRIENDS...

In the early 1880's Association football had seemed to be the club's financial saviour, but a decade later it was clear that it had become a cruel master, whose unpredictability could ruin the venture almost at any time. With virtually no bankable assets the club was dependent on a run of good results to keep the crowds - and the cash flow they generated - rolling in. A falling-off of attendances at the more unequal, large score, pre-league games had been apparent, and whenever North End's form faltered gates fell. Once the league became established the crowds attending friendly matches fell very markedly. The fates could also intervene, and a sudden downpour half an hour before kick off could drastically reduce the attendance at the largely uncovered ground. As the Preston Chronicle reported after a North End - Everton game in November 1890: **At the close rain came down piteously; cabs and conveyances of all sorts were soon in great demand, and there was scarcely one out of the 12,000 spectators but got a thorough drenching.** Sometimes both these factors could operate, as in October 1891 when a match against a Canadian side was very badly attended, attracting barely 1000 supporters. The rain was so heavy that both goalkeepers used umbrellas, and the press denounced the club's 'fair-weather friends'.**(33)** It was thus essential to maximise income from attractive fixtures, but Deepdale was a small ground and quite outdated as early as the 1890's. So that when an attractive game was to be played in fine weather, the patrons could only be accommodated with difficulty. Before a clash with Sunderland in January 1893, William Sudell was forced to cut tickets in half with scissors to meet the demand. The estimated crowd of 14-15,000 produced receipts of almost £550, an enormous sum for Deepdale, but quite a normal figure for Everton.**(34)**

Gates generally were very small by modern standards. A surviving gate book from 1884-5, suitably inscribed, 'Be Earnest about doing good Christian friends. For certainly good deeds are ever beautiful', records 134,159 ground, and 26,611 stand spectators at 33 matches, indicating average crowds of just 4-5,000 at each match. The average was greatly assisted by more interesting games, such as the visit of the Corinthians in April 1885 (11,248) and Bolton Wanderers in November 1884 (12,450). The 'Sports' were very lucrative producing net receipts of around £300 in 1884 and 1885 from crowds of 9,760 and 10,978 respectively.**(35)** Receipts from more run of the mill games could be quite paltry. If the Preston public's appetite for football matches was not boundless, the answer was to take the team on away tours. This was done extensively, and both its Cup form in the late 1880's and league form in the 1890's suffered as a result of playing large numbers of distant fixtures. For example, of the 42 matches in the club's great unbeaten run of 1887-8, only 18 were played at Deepdale.

Sam Thomson, 1886.
Born in Ayrshire, left wing and centre forward, 27 years old in 1889, 11st 10lbs, 5'-8" tall. He joined North End in March 1884. International. (National Football Museum)

League attendances have been analysed by Brian Tabner, who suggests that North End's average gates ranged from 6,225 to 7,650 in the first five years. In the two championship seasons the club was the second best supported, with figures of 6,280 and 7,650. During the difficult season 1893-4 the figure fell to 5,800. Only with promotion from the Second Division in 1903-4 did crowds breach the 8,000 barrier, and only after the First War did 15,000 plus attendances become the norm. The Victorian club thus drew gates quite minuscule by later standards, of a size not to be seen again at Deepdale until the terrible days of the 1980's. Though the club was comparatively well supported in its very early years, it clearly was never able to compete with those from the large urban areas. Interestingly, Tabner concludes: **In fact their attendances have been reasonable enough when outside Division 1, and it appears that Preston is one of several towns with a population density below that which can compete with the big city clubs when in Division 1, but are comparatively well supported when in the lower divisions.**(36) With the more rationalised League competition this factor quickly came into play. Matters were made worse by the large bonuses paid to players from the gate money. The scale of these is unclear, but after a shock defeat by the Third Lanark Rifle Volunteers in 1886, Sudell is famously reported to have remarked that '£20 per man was not going to be a feature of North End's new season'. With such parlous finances, long term success would always be difficult to maintain.(37)

Nor had the club's organisational structure kept pace with its growth. William Sudell exercised the power of a benevolent despot. Perhaps understandably no financial records appear to survive from this period, apart from the 'accounts' recorded by the press at the club's AGMs. These appear regularly in the 1880's, but usually highlight little more than a rather vague 'balance in hand'. Clearly the early need to obscure payments to players did not engender a culture of financial openness. Pressure of events was used to put off meetings, which could (and still can) always be distracted by talk of new signings and future success. The last record for 1889 apparently indicated a balance of £293. The following year Sudell began to put money into the club, and so managed to postpone a day of reckoning until 1893. Even had they survived therefore, it is unlikely that the accounts of these years would be informative of anything other than the 'beautiful handwriting' in which they were written. This was perhaps the reason why Sudell kept such a close hold on club affairs, and why he reacted so angrily when the good reputation he hid behind was called into question. Clearly other people at the club must have known what was going on, but when interviewed late in life, they fell back on their stock of familiar tales, and so successfully took the truth to their graves.(38)

WILLIAM SUDELL AT BAY

The start of the 1892-3 season was marked with renewed optimism. In locally-born Frank Beckton the club could introduce a versatile forward from the reserves, and Jack Ross was still at the top of his game. Results up to Christmas supported this optimism, and the club began the New Year in pole position. A huge crowd assembled for the 'match of the season' with Sunderland at Deepdale in early January: **In view of the enormous crush, Mr. Sudell, with his accustomed foresight, has had the stands etc, round the ground thoroughly examined, and they are certified as being quite capable of standing any pressure which can be put on them.** In front of a crowd estimated variously at 14-18,000, North End lost 2-1, the visitors scoring twice in ten minutes. This put Sunderland two points clear with a game in hand. After the match Sudell was reported to have spoken 'a few consolating and encouraging remarks to the team'.(39) He was extensively criticised for his team selection, and the discussion widened to embrace the entire management of the club. This was increasingly seen to be rather amateurish when compared to that of Sunderland, where it was reported that 'The choosing of players for each match is left to a small sub-committee, of which Mr. Tom Watson is the leading spirit'.(40) The movement to appoint a modern 'manager' had begun. Clubs also began to explore the advantages of Limited Liability Company status, notably Derby County in June 1891 and Newton Heath in May 1892. Amid these developments, William Sudell's other business pressures were rapidly spiralling out of his control, and he was in poor health.

On the field of play it was Everton who were destined to be the deciding factor in the club's season. North End beat them comfortably 5-1 at Deepdale, but the away fixture resulted in a 6-0 defeat, the biggest since the 11-2 beating at the hands of Blackburn Rovers back in 1882. Though Jack Ross did not play, and the goalkeeper was injured after the first goal, the result was shocking: 'Saturday was a black letter day in the history of

Preston football ... the catastrophe to PNEFC has been the topic of conversation in all football circles'. The Preston Chronicle felt that it was 'hardly proper to discuss the disaster at all'.(41) Sunderland were now four points clear, still with a game in hand. Attention switched to the FA Cup, where a win might yet save everything. In the first two rounds Burton Swifts and Accrington were despatched 9-2 and 4-1 respectively, with Jack Ross hitting four against the former, and Beckton scoring a hat-trick in each game. Ross returned from injury for the third round draw at Deepdale against Middlesbrough Ironopolis. Beckton scored his third hat trick in the replay, as the 'Nops' sank 7-0.(42)

North End now met Everton, led by Bob Howarth, in the Semi-final. The game was played at Sheffield on 4 March and ended 2-2. Amazingly one week later the teams also met in the Lancashire Cup, North End winning 3-0 at Deepdale, but the large crowd burst on to the pitch and the result was declared void. With a backlog of fixtures building up, North End were losing both their income and their momentum in the league. The Semi-final replay on the 16th was also drawn, this time 0-0. A tremendous rivalry had built up between the teams, and Jack Ross received special attention and threats from his former club's supporters.(43) On 20 March the third replay took place at Ewood. Despite playing some wonderful football, and having been the best team on the day, North End lost 2-1. Five days later Everton were defeated in the final by Wolverhampton Wanderers. In the Lancashire Cup replay, North End comfortably beat them 5-1, and went on to win the trophy beating Bolton Wanderers 2-0 in the final. The club's remaining games were very poorly attended, and as the Preston Chronicle reported, 'Football has had a rather easy death at Deepdale for this season. The public of Preston hardly deserve to have a first class football team in their midst'.(44) One game was said to have produced receipts of just £2. All this when the club with the smallest professional squad had ended as runner-up in the League, had played three FA Cup Semi-finals, and had won the Lancashire Cup. In North End's first decade of first class soccer, it has been estimated that they had played 632 games, winning 455, drawing 75, and losing 102, while scoring 2194 goals, and conceding 739.(45)

As the season ended events moved rapidly, and the Preston rumour mill went into top gear. Fears for the financial integrity of John Goodair & Co naturally spread to the football club. Meetings of players and supporters to discuss the future were reported, as Sudell indicated that in the light of his business commitments he could not carry on. The imminent departure of the team's players, and the collapse of the club seemed likely. The Football Field reported that, 'Gossip of a nature calculated to be somewhat adverse to the interests of the club, had been buzzing in the town for some time past'.(46) The Everton club quite innocently provided the catalyst for revolution, when it became apparent that they were owed part of their share from the Cup games. The long put-off 'Annual' General Meeting was held at the Fulwood club on Thursday 20 July 1893 - one month after receivers had been appointed at the Goodair mills.(47) Sudell defended his record of achievement, and became very angry when the club's finances were questioned. It had been four and a half years since their last meeting, but he 'had presumed on their confidence' to run the club in his own way: **No club existed with such slender support as the North End received (hear, hear). They had no bazaars, they had no lotteries (hear, hear), they had never bullied the members for subscriptions, and yet the club had been in existence as a first class club for ten years (hear, hear).** Despite the rumours he had made nothing out of the team: **What he had done, whether right or wrong, was in the interests of the club ...His only desire was that the club should go on and prosper. In conclusion ...He desired that tonight some scheme should be formulated by which the club could be carried on, and obtain a better position than ever.**

The long awaited balance sheet was produced. Since the actual accounts do not seem to have survived, and extensive fraud was later alleged, it can reveal little about the real state of the club's affairs. In particular, the figure of £10,000 of gate receipts from matches since 1889 seems rather low, in the light of the £542 of tickets sold for a single match in 1893. It is also interesting to note that the club had been living beyond its means to the extent that receipts from the members did not even cover the cost of the players kit, shabby as that frequently seems to have been!

The general picture was reported to be as follows:

RECEIPTS

1889 balance carried forward	£292-2s-5d
Gate receipts since	£10,159-10s-8d
For matches away	£5406-12s-6d
Received from sports	£1044-1s-9d
Members subscriptions	£288-4s-10d
Grand total	**£17,343-3s-10d**

EXPENDITURE

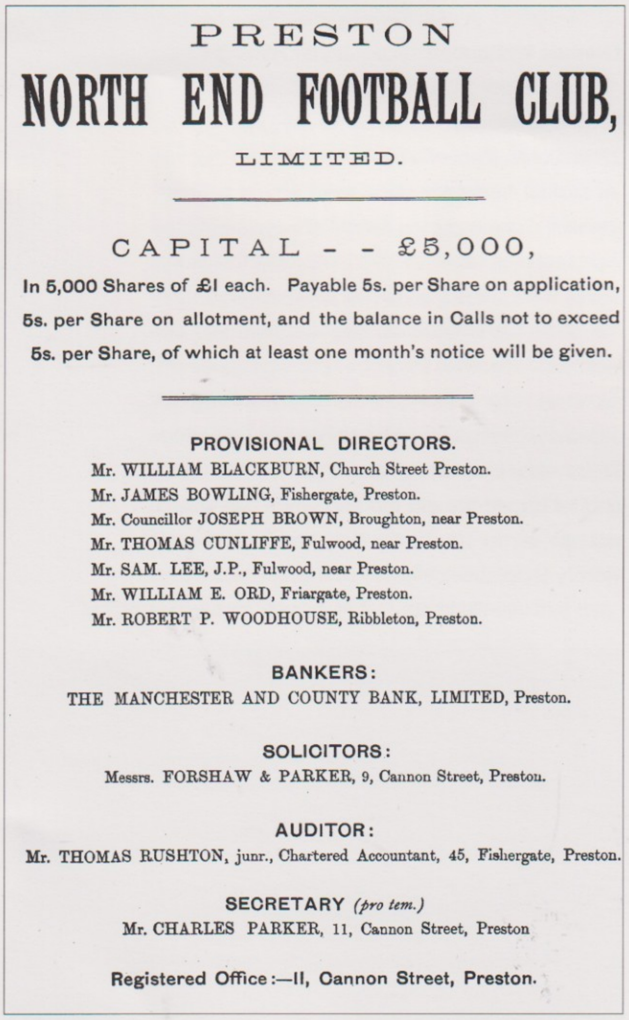
Players inducements & second team	£9,239-7s-11d
Travelling, hotels, etc	£2735-2s-3d
Players outfits	£296-4s-6d
Visiting teams	£1392-13s-2d
Sports prizes etc	£808-10s-6d
Grand total	**£18,129-15s-5d**

A long standing member from the cricket club days, and himself a member of 'the executive', Mr. R. P. Woodhouse, led the inquest into the actual state of the club's funds. When he asserted that its liabilities were more than Sudell claimed, the latter became furious, 'I will not stand here and have my answer refuted'. Woodhouse in turn became angry when Sudell appeared to take all criticism personally, he argued that he was not accusing him of dishonesty, but expressing merely 'a lack of confidence in the people he had got around him'. When he eventually asked to resign from the committee, and give the meeting his reasons for doing so, Sudell ruled him out of order. After heated exchanges, the meeting passed a vote of confidence in the chairman, who then went on to outline the plan to float the club as a company. He proposed a board of 12 directors, and the issuing of 10,000 shares at £1 each. He had not given up his expansionist plans, 'He had his idea of what the North End club ought to be', they should acquire more land at Deepdale, and develop more sports facilities. To implement the scheme a committee of six was appointed to work with him, comprising R. P. Woodhouse, W. Naylor, F. Coupe, J. Brown, C. Parker and T. Cunliffe. The meeting ended amid general relief that things were not as bad as had been feared, the club 'would not die out for lack of funds', and as Sudell concluded: **There was a much brighter day in store for the North End club, although there was nothing much to complain about now!**

THE DARKEST HOUR ...

Few soccer revolutions have had to be so sudden; there were just six weeks before the start of the 1893-4 season. At two later meetings 'the lion lay down with the lamb', and the details of the flotation were worked out.**(48)** Five thousand shares at £1 each were to be offered, with 5/- paid on allotment. The new Preston North End company was to purchase the assets from Mr. Sudell acting on behalf of the members of the old club. Great efforts were underway to reserve the services of the old team, and to enlist new recruits, but players could not be actually signed until the club floated. Everything now depended on raising the money. A prospectus was drawn up, and published on 12 August, just three weeks after the first meeting!

At this point the shattering blow fell. North End were suspended by the FA for not paying-off all of their debt for gate receipts due to Everton. The club was bankrupt, the company did not yet exist, it had no players, and was suspended from playing. The football ground needed urgent repair work, and star player Beckton wanted to leave. As Preston sweltered in a heat wave, the club's darkest-ever hour was at hand.(49)



PRESTON
NORTH END FOOTBALL CLUB,
LIMITED.

CAPITAL - - £5,000,
In 5,000 Shares of £1 each. Payable 5s. per Share on application, 5s. per Share on allotment, and the balance in Calls not to exceed 5s. per Share, of which at least one month's notice will be given.

PROVISIONAL DIRECTORS.
Mr. WILLIAM BLACKBURN, Church Street Preston.
Mr. JAMES BOWLING, Fishergate, Preston.
Mr. Councillor JOSEPH BROWN, Broughton, near Preston.
Mr. THOMAS CUNLIFFE, Fulwood, near Preston.
Mr. SAM. LEE, J.P., Fulwood, near Preston.
Mr. WILLIAM E. ORD, Friargate, Preston.
Mr. ROBERT P. WOODHOUSE, Ribbleton, Preston.

BANKERS:
THE MANCHESTER AND COUNTY BANK, LIMITED, Preston.

SOLICITORS:
Messrs. FORSHAW & PARKER, 9, Cannon Street, Preston.

AUDITOR:
Mr. THOMAS RUSHTON, junr., Chartered Accountant, 45, Fishergate, Preston.

SECRETARY *(pro tem.)*
Mr. CHARLES PARKER, 11, Cannon Street, Preston

Registered Office:—11, Cannon Street, Preston.

Offer to buy shares in the Preston North End Football Club Limited: 1893.

The share launch was not a success, and its failure came close to ruining the club. Many North Enders acquired only enough shares to retain their old discounts when buying season tickets. Similar problems would be encountered a hundred years later. (National Football Museum)

Throughout August the press gave full support to the fund-raising. On 19 August the players began training at Deepdale, and Beckton had been persuaded to stay. Once it became apparent that the company 'do not want management to lapse into the old style', the position brightened.(50) The list was to close on 26 August, and the previous week saw enormous activity. On the 23rd it was reported: **The canvassers who were out yesterday met with only a couple of refusers, and their 'orders' included several 50s, 25s, 20s, 15s, 10s etc, so that the prospects are becoming easy.** But the response was generally very disappointing, and North Enders 'were not as liberal as could be wished'. Even the reported discovery of a huge diamond at Kimberley failed to inspire them. Football Field alerted the wider world of the crisis, and of the club's pending collapse.(51)

THE POSITION AT PRESTON - A CRISIS; The whole matter rests with the public to decide - before next Saturday - whether the exposition of first class football shall continue at Deepdale. That is all that need be said this week.(52) The start of the season was just one week away.

As the list closed the company was reported to have scraped home, with just under 1,000 shares taken up. A last minute surge had saved them. The cry had been; 'We must not let North End go down'. Blackburn Rovers offered to play them to raise funds, and people from 'all positions in life' had come forward. Two classes came in for special criticism from Football Field; rich people who had bought tens rather than hundreds of shares, and the old club members who had taken up just one share to maintain their former rights.(53) The warring factions had pulled together at the club, and Sudell had taken charge of the players. Trainer, Holmes, the Ross's, Drummond, Beckton, Cowan and Cunningham were all available, and agents had been sent north to strengthen the team. On 28 August, when the company floated, more than 1,600 shares had been sold, enabling the debt to Everton to be cleared and the players signed.(54)

Amid a cholera epidemic and a coal miners' strike the FA ban was lifted the following Wednesday, just before the start of the season. On Saturday 2 September, as the sun shone on Deepdale, the team was greeted with 'a hearty cheer', at the start of their first game under public ownership. It was a forerunner of many of the games which were to follow; North End played badly, but a goal from Beckton secured the points amid scenes of great enthusiasm. As Football Field concluded, 'North End were lucky. The players did their best so no-one grumbled. All's well that ends well'. North End's longest week was over.**(55)**

Of course the new company faced all the old problems. The gate of 6,000 for their opening game against Derby County compared badly with the crowds elsewhere; 8,000 at Bolton, 12,000 at Everton, 15,000 at Villa Park and 16,000 at Sunderland. Efforts to sell shares continued, but several people who had offered to buy now backed out. On Thursday 21 September the election for directors took place, and shareholders were duly warned 'not to be afraid of the pack of papers they have received'. In addition to the Everton debt, the club had owed over £400 to the players. It can be argued, therefore, that player loyalty had saved the club. Some 54 'gentlemen' were qualified to stand, 32 were nominated, and 12 elected:**(56)**

Joseph Brown JP, occupation 'Gentleman', residence 'Mayfield', Nooklands, Fulwood.

Francis Coupe, 'Journalist', 55 New Hall Lane.

Thomas Cunliffe, 'Joiner and Builder', 1 St. Martins Road.

Thomas Houghton, 'Commercial Traveller', victualler, and agent for Wm Younger and Co, Volunteer Inn.

George Iddon, 'Tobacconist'.

Joshua Margerison junior, 'Soap Manufacturer', Whinfield, Ashton.

William Ord, 'Leather Merchant', 33 Bairstow St.

Charles Parker, 'House & Estate Agent', 96 Waterloo Road.

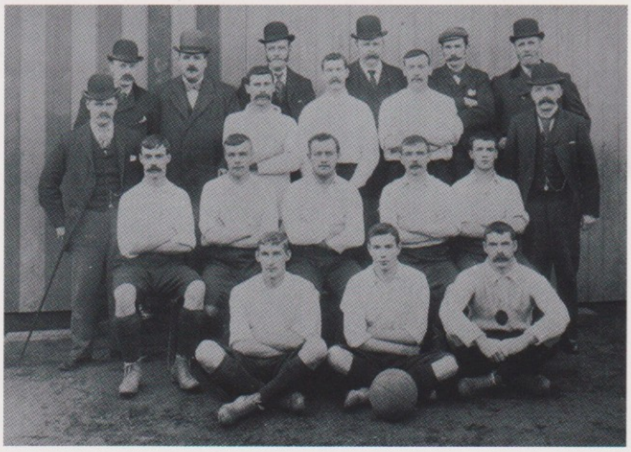
Walter Pomfret, 'Paper Merchant', 126 St. Thomas's Road.

William Sudell, 'Cotton Spinner', Moor House, Holme Slack.

Thomas Whitehead, 'Solicitor', 54 Fishergate.

R. P. Woodhouse, 'Monumental Mason', 23 St. Johns Place.

Perhaps surprisingly, the largest share of the votes went to the old stalwarts; Pomfret (169), Ord (166), Sudell (160), Woodhouse (147), Parker (136), and Houghton (97). After a lengthy dispute, Tom Charnley rather than Fred Dewhurst was appointed secretary. The meeting ended optimistically, its chairman, Sam Lee, expressing the view that: **There was a splendid future before the club, and he hoped the old red and white flag would still go on in the same way from victory to victory (Applause).(57)**



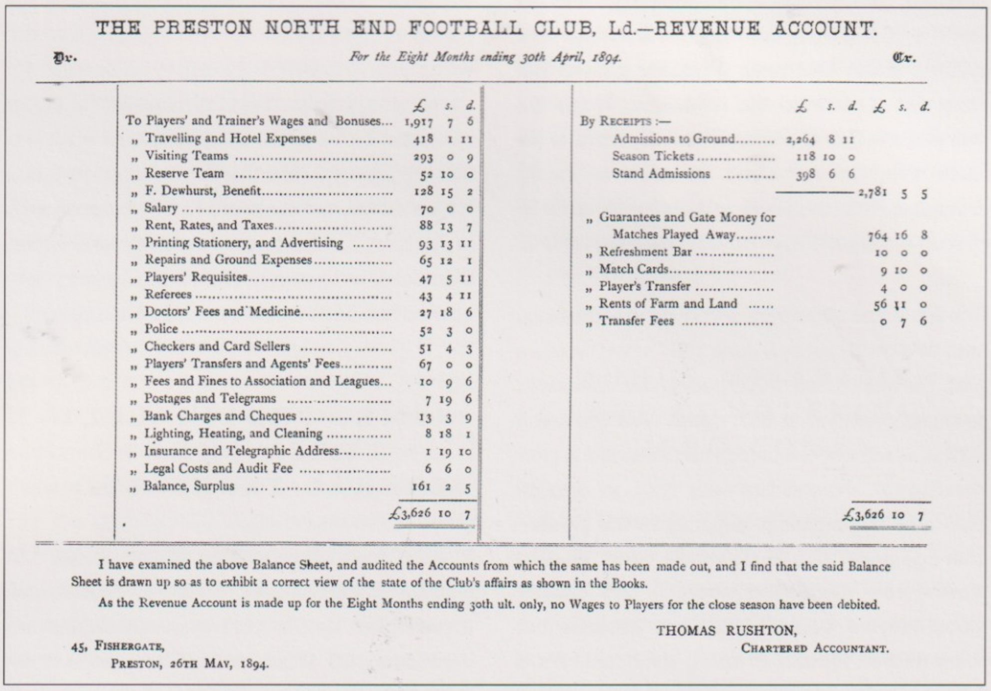
Preston North End FC, 1897-98.

One of the earliest photographs of the Preston board which replaced the Sudell autocracy. William Ord, first chairman of the company, can be seen standing third from the right on the back row. (National Football Museum)

... A NEW DAWN

Despite the old dictum of Dr. Morley, of Blackburn Rovers, that the North End executive consisted of three men, (two asleep and one awake), the new directors quickly got down to business, holding their meetings in a room above Charles Parker's office in Cannon Street.(58) Emergency, Finance, Ground and Stand committees were appointed. The small squad was soon unsettled by injuries, and most alarmingly, by the apparent influenza attack suffered by Jack Ross in November. By the New Year a major crisis had developed: 'The wonder is not that North End get beaten every time they put a team in the field but that they can raise eleven players to fulfil their League engagements'. (59) When Jack Ross was able to play, prospects were overturned, most notably in the 18-0 defeat of Reading in the FA Cup on 27 January 1894. He scored six along with Beckton, and Cowan added another five. Early in February the directors had to call up a further 5s per share, and were reported to be 'straining every nerve to get fresh big forwards'. The team slipped into the relegation zone.(60)

By early March the outlook was bleak, and Dr. Morley 'was sorry for poor North End, The loss of Major Sudell has ruined them ...I am afraid the club will have to break up'.(61) Management by committee was not proving a success, and much of the trainer Barton's time was taken up with his role as groundsman. A modern manager was the



THE PRESTON NORTH END FOOTBALL CLUB, Ld.—REVENUE ACCOUNT.

Dr. *For the Eight Months ending 30th April, 1894.* Cr.

	£	s.	d.
To Players' and Trainer's Wages and Bonuses...	1,917	7	6
„ Travelling and Hotel Expenses	418	1	11
„ Visiting Teams	293	0	9
„ Reserve Team	52	10	0
„ F. Dewhurst, Benefit............................	128	15	2
„ Salary	70	0	0
„ Rent, Rates, and Taxes..........................	88	13	7
„ Printing Stationery, and Advertising	93	13	11
„ Repairs and Ground Expenses.................	65	12	1
„ Players' Requisites..............................	47	5	11
„ Referees	43	4	11
„ Doctors' Fees and Medicine.....................	27	18	6
„ Police	52	3	0
„ Checkers and Card Sellers	51	4	3
„ Players' Transfers and Agents' Fees...........	67	0	0
„ Fees and Fines to Association and Leagues...	10	9	6
„ Postages and Telegrams	7	19	6
„ Bank Charges and Cheques	13	3	9
„ Lighting, Heating, and Cleaning	8	18	1
„ Insurance and Telegraphic Address............	1	19	10
„ Legal Costs and Audit Fee	6	6	0
„ Balance, Surplus	161	2	5
	£3,626	10	7

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Receipts :—						
Admissions to Ground.........	2,264	8	11			
Season Tickets..................	118	10	0			
Stand Admissions	398	6	6			
				2,781	5	5
„ Guarantees and Gate Money for Matches Played Away.........				764	16	8
„ Refreshment Bar				10	0	0
„ Match Cards........................				9	10	0
„ Player's Transfer				4	0	0
„ Rents of Farm and Land				56	11	0
„ Transfer Fees				0	7	6
				£3,626	10	7

I have examined the above Balance Sheet, and audited the Accounts from which the same has been made out, and I find that the said Balance Sheet is drawn up so as to exhibit a correct view of the state of the Club's affairs as shown in the Books.

As the Revenue Account is made up for the Eight Months ending 30th ult. only, no Wages to Players for the close season have been debited.

THOMAS RUSHTON,
Chartered Accountant.

45, Fishergate,
Preston, 26th May, 1894.

PNEFC Ltd First Annual Report, 1894.

The annual reports are an important source of the club's history. This format was maintained with few changes well into the 1970's, and the National Football Museum is fortunate to possess an almost complete set. At this early date player wages accounted for only just over half of the club's income, and of particular interest here is the payment of 7s-6d expended in transfer fees. The board apologised for the club's poor performance: 'The directors express their regret that the results of the past season's working have not been as successful, financially and otherwise, as could have been wished'. (National Football Museum) answer, for under the present system, 'the men do just as they please, and as a result do little or nothing in the way of preparing themselves'.

The Lancashire Daily Post hinted at a return by Sudell: **There is a gentleman at hand willing to take the post to the end of the season without remuneration, just to see if he cannot pull the club out of the condition it is in at present.(62)** This was not to be tolerated, and the team was run by the Emergency Committee. Hopes that other clubs would 'do North End a favour' came to nothing, but it was hoped that the division would be extended to 'keep them up' if the worse happened. Sunderland were bitterly berated for losing to Bolton Wanderers who thus pulled clear by a single point. On Saturday 28 April, Preston played off against the FA Cup winners Notts County at the Olive Ground, Sheffield. Though the team's form had showed some sign of picking up, the general outlook was gloomy: **North End have gradually progressed from the sublime to the ridiculous. Today we witness the grand climax. After all, there is no such thing in the world of sport as being invincible.(63)** In the event, and not for the last time in such a crisis, the team played valiantly to win 4-0.

The first of the company's annual general meetings was held on Thursday 8 June 1894 in the Weavers Hall. The attendance of 200 people was contrasted favourably with that at debt ridden West Bromwich Albion, which just one person had attended. A prior meeting of shareholders was held to arrange business: **The business capacity of the present management was questioned, and several cases were mentioned where it was alleged good players could have been secured but were missed for lack of spirit.** The board should be halved in size to six members, and a 'manager like Mr. Watson of Sunderland' should be appointed. Mr. Sudell should be offered the job.**(64)** The first Annual Report regretted the team's poor season: **Owing to the unfortunate position in which the team was placed, during the greater part of the season, by sickness and accidents, many matches were lost; and, as a consequence, the gate receipts diminished to a serious degree.(65)** The share capital comprised 1,947 shares on which 15s had now been called up, and £1,600 had been paid for the old club. Gate receipts totalled £2,781-5s-5d, and player transfers had raised £4 in an overall total income of £3,626-10s-7d. Expenditure of £3,465-8s-2d included, wages £1,917-7s-6d, and transfer fees of £67.

This meeting set the pattern for many that were to follow it, and the board was able to ignore most of the shareholders' demands. Sudell made his last bow, questioning the balance sheet, but received no support. He had attended just four board meetings, and he took no place on the new board. Pomfret, Ord and Houghton topped the voting, and the new chairman, Mr. Ord, caused much amusement when he announced that the chronically under-capitalised club would not be paying a dividend that year. When a question was asked as to the likely composition of the team for the following season, 'the Chairman said the matter had better be left to the directors to deal with'. The meeting took the view that the 'heart burning and friction' which had culminated in Mr. Woodhouse's resignation, should be avoided in future. Deepdale's window onto democracy, having briefly opened had been resolutely closed once again.

'MR. SUDELL LEFT THESE SHORES SEVERAL YEARS AGO...'

Strolling along Waterloo Road, William Sudell, 'Mill manager of Garden Walk, Ashton-on-Ribble', was apprehended by Detective Inspector Gardner on Wednesday 20 March 1895. The case was an immediate sensation in Preston. Described as 'a man in whom the parties had the greatest confidence', he had long been solely responsible for the management of the Goodair mills. On the death in 1886 of W.H. Goodair, his employer and senior officer in the militia, he was left in complete control of the firm's cash. The company had funds of £60-70,000, and operated 65,000 spindles and 1,300 looms. Up to 1889 he had behaved 'as a good servant', but the following year began to defraud large sums of money, by juggling cheques between the main accounts, most notably that of the firm 'Borneo & Co'. To a man of Sudell's proven financial acumen, this was a fairly simple matter. John Goodair & Co did not have a Preston banker, but used the Manchester firm of Messrs Cunliffe-Brookes & Co. The crisis broke in June 1893 when the latter asked that receivers be appointed. After a period of irregular working, during which time 'the operatives have suffered considerably', Brookfield Mill and Peel Hall Mill 'stopped until further notice'. Sudell's health gave way under the strain. He was a broken man, and amid all sorts of rumours he gave up control of the football club a month later. How and why he came to behave so utterly out of character will never be known, but his subsequently glowing reputation in South Africa, reflected that which he had formerly enjoyed in England.**(66)**

The prosecution case was that he had falsified the books of the firm and embezzled money. It was estimated that over the years 1890 to 1893 he had

Mr Houghton
Mr Cunliffe
Mr Barton
Mr Charnley
STRICTLY PRIVATE
PLAYERS
R. Howarth
Mc Bride
Tait
Hunter
W. Eccleston
Hargreaves
Drummond
Becton
Mc Lachlie

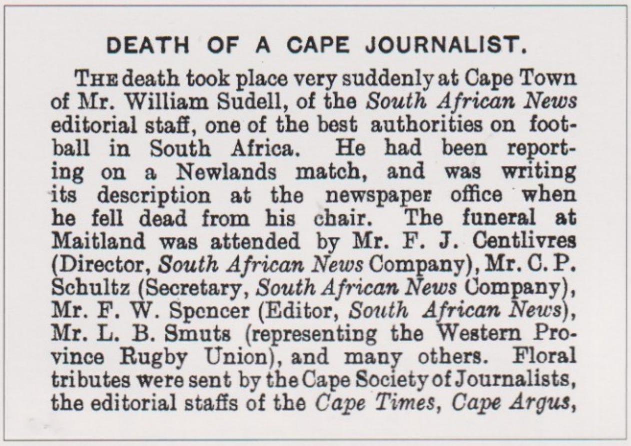
Preston North End FC, Lancashire Cup Winners 1897-98.
Back Row (L-R): Mr. Houghton, Mr. Cunliffe, Mr. Barton. Middle Row: Unknown, R. Howarth, McBride, Tait, Hunter, Mr. Charnley. Front Row: Eccleston, Hargreaves, Drummond, Becton, McLatchie. Forward Row: Whittle, Pearce. (National Football Museum)

stolen around £5,000, or about £1,000 per year, but he was prosecuted for the specific theft of cheques worth £823-2s-2d. He had betrayed his masters' trust through a 'series of most ingenious frauds'. Interestingly, the question of whether he had also embezzled Preston North End does not seem to have been raised, though rumours of irregularities had been rife two years earlier, and clearly contributed to the move to replace him as chairman. He asked to be tried at Preston, knew the magistrates well, and hoped for local feelings to count for him. Mr. Mellor, his counsel, tried to make light of the affair, pointing to the universal esteem in which his client was held. He had not spent the money on gambling or women, he had supported the town's football club: 'He spent money royally on everyone who came near him. He entertained teams that came to the town, and paid for drink for anyone who wished'. The prisoner was disgraced, and threw himself on the mercy of the court.

The bench was not convinced. He was well educated, had a position in society, an enormous salary of £500 per year, and the complete trust of his employers. He had betrayed this trust, and his class; 'The whole of that money had disappeared in riotous living: that is what it comes to'. The prisoner had not 'showed enough remorse', and was sentenced to three years imprisonment. His wife and eight dependant children were left in straightened circumstances. The president of the Football League writing in the Athletic News, urged footballers to assist them. Sudell's fall had crushed them to despair, this was an event worse than death, and a poor woman now 'faced the world alone without a penny and with many hungry mouths to feed'.**(67)**

Sudell was probably released at the end of 1898, and reunited, the family emigrated to South Africa in 1901 at the height of the Boer War. Here he is popularly supposed to have shot himself in despair. In fact he established another successful career as a sports writer and footballing missionary. A member of the editorial staff of the South African News, he became one of the foremost sporting experts in the colony. Sudell kept up his interest in football, and remained a close observer of the club he had established. He died suddenly in 1911 at the age of 61, literally with pen in hand as he wrote an account of a football match he had just left. The main South African papers published obituaries. The South African News called him: **A true gentleman, a valued friend and co-worker, and a man of unselfish, kind hearted amiable character whose love of the game had won him the respect of thousands.(68)** The Capetown Argus recognised his contribution to the development of South African football, and again noted his 'charming disposition' and 'old world charm'.**(69)** The journal South Africa gave him his due place as 'the founder of Association Football in England', and as the architect of the greatness of Preston North End.**(70)** His family and friends had stood by him, and in his new life he had been both successful and happy. He died a much respected man.

In Preston, Sudell's disgrace was still not to be spoken about directly, and the press was much more guarded. The Lancashire Daily Post carried a dignified obituary, but made no mention of the circumstances of his exile. 'Perseus' was more forthcoming a week later, describing him as 'a man of generous impulses, wide sympathies, and shrewd judgement', as if his generosity of spirit had led him into his career of systematic embezzlement.**(71)** Among the many wreaths on his grave in Maitland cemetery, was one from the Western Provinces FA. Ninety years later William Sudell still remains an enigma. Simon Inglis has questioned the origins of the suicide rumour: **Was Major Sudell's reputation deliberately scarred in this country by those who wished him harm, who wished to sully his achievements and thus darken the very name of professional football?(72)** Jimmy Catton, who must have known him very well, left significant questions unanswered, and perhaps opened the door to an explanation: **Honest as the day, in my opinion and frank to a degree ...I can never believe that he forfeited his honesty and self-respect. In disposition he was noble enough to have borne the burden of another man's misdeed.(73)** Is this a clue to Sudell's lame defence in court, asking merely for a lenient sentence to shield (in Woodhouse's phrase at the 1893 general meeting) 'one of the people he had got around him', or just an attempt of a loyal friend to wipe over his disgrace? Did the strain of running a large textile business, and managing all aspects of a football club simply cause a breakdown? Whatever the truth it can matter little now. William Sudell's memorial was not only the North End football club, but the lasting success of the world game. His rehabilitation, and the recognition of the role he played in establishing professionalism in sport is long overdue, not least at Deepdale, where he created the world's first great football club.



DEATH OF A CAPE JOURNALIST.

THE death took place very suddenly at Cape Town of Mr. William Sudell, of the *South African News* editorial staff, one of the best authorities on football in South Africa. He had been reporting on a Newlands match, and was writing its description at the newspaper office when he fell dead from his chair. The funeral at Maitland was attended by Mr. F. J. Centlivres (Director, *South African News* Company), Mr. C. P. Schultz (Secretary, *South African News* Company), Mr. F. W. Spencer (Editor, *South African News*), Mr. L. B. Smuts (representing the Western Province Rugby Union), and many others. Floral tributes were sent by the Cape Society of Journalists, the editorial staffs of the *Cape Times*, *Cape Argus*,

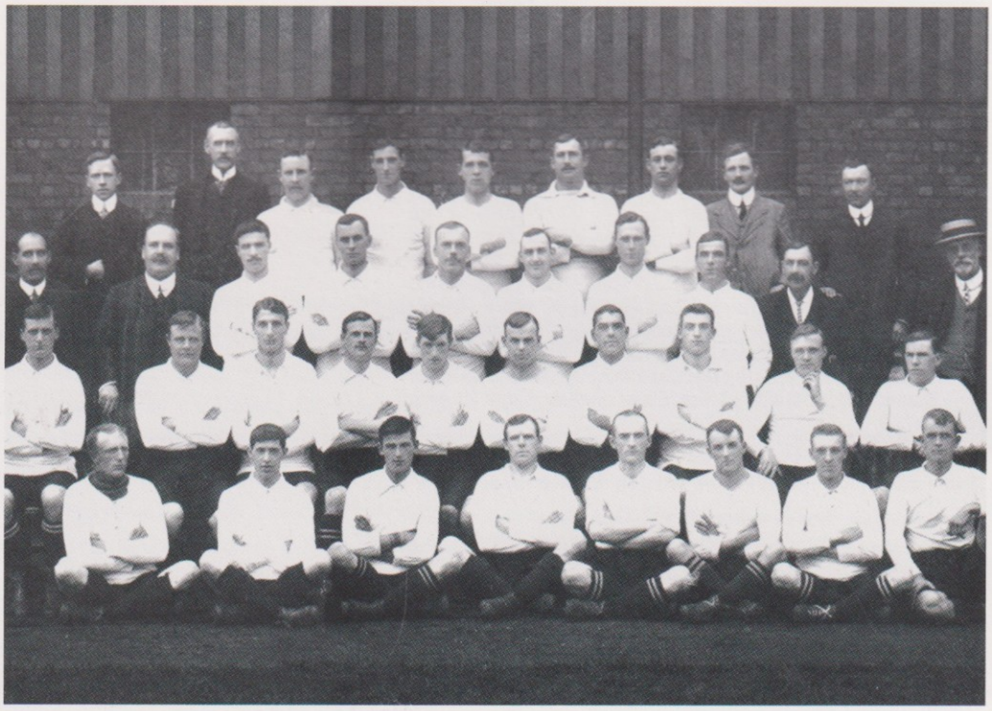
THE ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF WILLIAM SUDELL GIVEN IN THE CAPE TOWN JOURNAL 'SOUTH AFRICA'.

chapter

5

the great WAR

The flotation of the company failed to solve the club's main problems. Sudell's remote and distant style of management became institutionalised, with power over all aspects of the club's business retained by the twelve directors.



Preston North End FC, 1908-09.

Back Row: C. Parker (Secretary), F. Paley (Assistant Trainer), Stringfellow, Derbyshire, Taylor, McBride, Hughes, Mr. Croft (Director), Mr. Holt (Director). Third Row: Mr. Joy (Director), Mr. Houghton (Director), Winchester, Wilson, Rodway, Chadwick, Dawson, Carlin, G. Drummond (Trainer), Mr. Woodhouse (Director). Second Row: Worthington, McLean, Smith, Sanderson, Winterhalder, Henderson, McCall, Holdsworth, R. Bond, McFadyen, Front Row: Booth, Main, Lavery, Platt, Lyon, Daniels, A. Bond, Danson. (identification: Rigby & Payne 1999. P.48.)

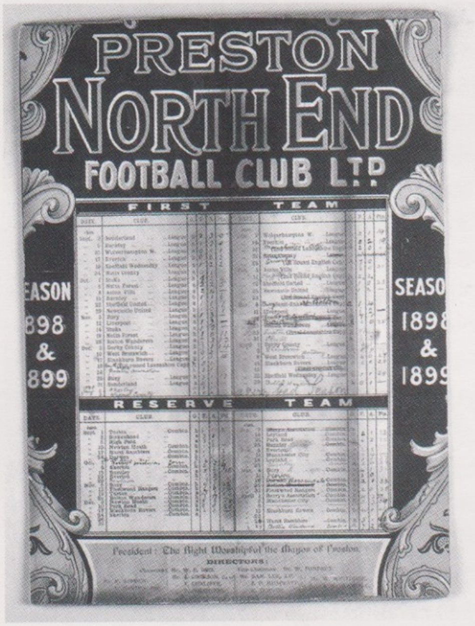
This photograph includes a number of the PNE pioneers (Messrs Joy, Drummond, and Houghton). Indeed, fifty years earlier R. P. Woodhouse had played cricket against Bow Lane prior to joining the North End Cricket Club! (National Football Museum)

The board's sinisterly named, 'Emergency Committee', which dealt with the playing side of the club, came to be dominated by an inner group of just three men (William Ord, Tom Houghton, and Walter Pomfret), two of whom had been principal members of the former 'Executive'. In this way the old guard, having had to sacrifice Sudell, continued to run affairs at Deepdale much as before, and as late as 1938 North End were to be the last team to win the FA Cup without a manager. The club's financial affairs were not improved by the share launch, though this expedient had helped it through the 1893-4 season, and money could now be more easily raised from the financial markets. The enterprise was to remain chronically under capitalised until its affairs improved momentarily in 1904-5.

An obvious Catch 22 position had developed in North End's finances: gates would improve only with a successful team, to have a successful team, players would have to be bought. Attendances were not good enough to provide the money to buy the players. The master and servant relationship in the mills easily transferred itself to these priorities - the chairman demanded local support, supporters demanded a successful side worth supporting. This problem was not helped by the antiquated state of Deepdale, for though the Preston public would support a successful team, the ground could not accommodate large gates. A realistic capacity in the 1890's seems to have been about 8,000. The remoteness of the directors, the struggle to develop a successful side to provide a self-sustaining financial base, and the need for ground improvements, are the central themes in the history of North End long into the twentieth century.

MESSRS ORD, POMFRET AND HOUGHTON: THE PRESTON MUSKETEERS

Much of the credit for the club's recovery from the crisis of 1893, and its re-establishment as a viable First Division outfit must go to William Ord, who was born in Friargate in 1862, and educated at the Friends' School near Pontefract. He was apprenticed to a Quaker firm of leather tanners at Doncaster before entering his father's business as a leather merchant at Preston. Ord joined Preston Cycle Club in 1883, and played a leading part in the formation of the Northern Cyclists Union. When the Preston members took to golf he became a keen player. As a member of Preston Borough Council from 1898 until his death, he established close personal links between the two bodies. He was particularly interested in the town's water supply, and was Mayor in 1906 and 1907, when he became an alderman. He was a bachelor and a leading Freemason, and died in 1924 after developing a chill during a round of golf. Clearly the chairmanship of the North End club was no impediment to a successful career in Preston politics.(1)


PRESTON
NORTH END
FOOTBALL CLUB LTD
FIRST TEAM
EASON
898
&
899
SEASO
1898
&
1899
RESERVE TEAM
President: The Right Worshipful the Mayor of Preston.
DIRECTORS:

Fixture List 1898-99.
(National Football Museum)

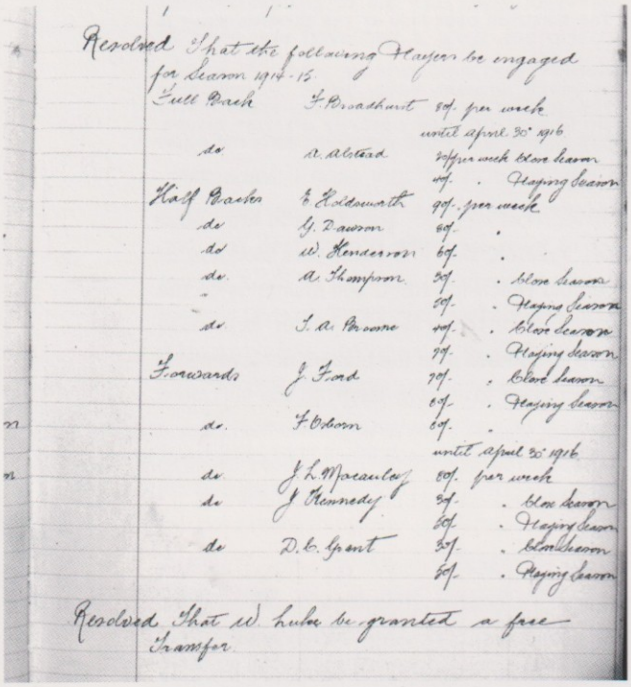
Ord joined North End's management committee just before the formation of the company, and held the position of chairman until June 1922, when he became the club's first life president. He held a number of footballing offices, and was a member of the council of the FA. His most difficult period as chairman came in the early years, and he was fond of telling the story **'of the difficult task the first North End board experienced in keeping the club alive. Money difficulties and the wholesale 'poaching' of players by southern clubs might have caused the Deepdale club to close down, but by hard work the club gradually recovered'.** Managing the club, he confided to 'Perseus' just before his death, had been a series of hardships, with 'more downs than ups'. Most of his successors would agree with these sentiments, and he was proud that on his retirement the club had ended a Cup Final season with £5,000 in hand.**(2)**

As chairman, Ord was ably assisted by the vice-chairman, Walter Pomfret, a paper merchant who had been a member of the original cricket club. He was extremely popular with the shareholders, he topped the first election for directors, and held office until his retirement in 1920. During the increasingly acrimonious disputes between the 'management' and the shareholders in the late 1900's, he could be relied upon to support the chairman and Mr. Houghton. Despite his long association with North End he was to live to see the 'New Invincibles' return the Cup to Deepdale in 1938.**(3)** Other old North Enders served on the board from time to time, adding to the strong sense of continuity between the old Sudell club and the company. R.P. Woodhouse, one of the best of the old cricketers, served from 1908 to 1919. His was a life dedicated to public service. He was parish clerk, the sexton of the Anglican part of the town's cemetery, he served on the Infirmary Management Committee and was a Poor Law Guardian. Originally loaned to North End by PCC, he was a good bowls player, and managed a round of golf a day. Frequently at odds with William Sudell, he had never fully recovered from the loss of his wife, son and niece in a holiday boating accident at Portrush in May 1895. He died in 1922 aged 74.**(4)**

Harry S. Cartmell, one of the most enthusiastic rugby players and another old member of Sudell's 'executive', served on the board from 1896-8. He had been team captain, and club secretary for 11 years. Another public servant, he had started his working life in the Corporation's 'Water office', before serving as Schools' Attendance Officer for 30 years. He was a member of the club's rugby section from its inception and became a fast outside right when the change to football was made. He was responsible for bringing the Scots to Preston, 'and to his enthusiasm the subsequent rise of the club was largely due'. He was fond of telling how he was sent to collect Davey Russell, who he was to meet under the clock at St. Enoch's station in Glasgow. Russell was to identify himself by wearing a red muffler, and turned up wearing a red scarf four yards long and carrying a violin case. Once in the carriage he proceeded to sing all the way to Preston. He died the year after Russell during the pneumonia epidemic of 1918. Close links were maintained with a number of the old 'Invincibles', and North End's early goalkeeper, W. J. (Billy) Joy was a board member from 1907-13. He was an active supporter, and proud to be the club's oldest former player, up to his death in 1947 aged 83.**(5)**

Councillor and publican Tom Houghton was the final member of the triumvirate. He also had close links with Sudell, and had accompanied the team to the Jubilee football festival of 1887. In 1937 'Perseus' described his role as 'a kind of managing director under the chairmanship of Alderman Ord'. In many respects he was a team manager, and he of all the directors had the closest links with the team: **It was Mr. Houghton who invariably went away in charge of the team and was the chief mover in the acquisition of men from over the border until the later years of his life.** This description fits very closely the role of James Taylor, who took Houghton's place on the board after his death in August 1912. His signing of North End's great goalkeeper, Peter McBride, ('St.Peter at the gate') reveals his acumen: **He had gone up to Ayr to look at a player in a match in which the goalkeeper was hurt. Peter, who was then playing forward, went under the bar, and gave such a display that not only was it clear he had found his real position, but justified North End in bringing him south as Trainer's understudy and successor.(6)**

Messrs Ord, Pomfret and Houghton, 'the three musketeers of Preston' were thus the men who really ran the club, with the assistance of Tom Charnley, the club secretary. In many respects, therefore, right up to the Second World War the new company's management was to be little more than the Sudell regime without Sudell. Serving his director's apprenticeship among them, James Taylor came to realise that the club could operate successfully only with dynamic leadership. So long as their teams performed to the supporters' liking all was well. In fact they had lost none of their old touch of finding fine players at minimum cost. After the traumas of 1893-4, the team performed very creditably to finish fourth in 1894-95, and only narrowly missed the runners-up spot in 1898. The following season North End survived a last day of the season which saw all five bottom clubs finish on 24 points. After two further poor years the club was relegated at the end of the 1900-01 season.



Resolved That the following Players be engaged for Season 1914-15.

Full Back	F. Broadhurst	80/- per week
		until April 30° 1916
do	A. Alstead	20/- per week Close Season
		40/- . Playing Season
Half Backs	E. Holdsworth	90/- per week
do	G. Dawson	80/- .
do	W. Henderson	60/- .
do.	A. Thompson	30/- . Close Season
"		50/- . Playing Season
do	T. A. Browne	40/- . Close Season
		70/- . Playing Season
Forwards	J. Ford	70/- . Close Season
		60/- . Playing Season
do.	F. Osborn	60/- .
		until April 30° 1916
do	J. L. Macaulay	80/- per week
do	J. Kennedy	30/- . Close Season
		50/- . Playing Season
do	D. C. Grant	30/- . Close Season
		50/- . Playing Season

Resolved That W. Lulse be granted a free Transfer

The North End Directors' Minute Books: Wages, May 1914.

The details of the wages paid to the team were regulated under the Maximum Wage system, and agreed in detail formally by the whole board. The club's great star, Joe McCall, was usually dealt with separately. The club was a strong advocate of the maintenance of the wage system, rightfully fearing the consequences of its abolition. On the other hand it is clear that North End's finances were, in common with all clubs up to the 1960's, in effect subsidised by their players, who could be cast aside when their playing days were over. (National Football Museum)

Much of the blame must fall on Tottenham Hotspur, of the Southern League. The club consciously modelled itself on the Invincibles, adopting the white shirts and blue shorts, and signed four former North End players - Sandy Tait ('the best fullback in the game'), Tom Smith, Tom Pratt and Sandy Brown - through a loophole which allowed free transfers from the Football League to the Southern League. This shattering blow not only robbed the club of half of the team, but also denied it the transfer income to replace the players. To add insult, Tottenham put North End out of the 1900-01 FA Cup competition in the first round, and Tait, Smith and Brown went on to play in that season's cup-winning side. Before the replayed Final at Bolton, Spurs also tried to sign McBride and McIntyre! The incident did however have a sequel, and James Taylor later claimed to have mined a vein of latent Tottenham guilt to obtain Harper and Rowley for a good price in December 1931.(7)

Notwithstanding this travesty, the directors had clearly failed. At the AGM, Ord could only point to a profit of £206. The club **'had undoubted difficulties to face, and they must face them as men (applause)'.** Desperate efforts to get the First Division extended failed, Tom Houghton blaming **'a few friends, upon whom they thoroughly relied, turning tail, and leaving them in the lurch'.** Everton and Manchester City had not supported his proposal.(8) After the death of Queen Victoria, in January, 'a deep gloom' was said to have settled over the town. The Boer War was going badly, and a Preston man described how his life had been saved, below 'the towering heights of Spion Kop, with its almost perpendicular slope and rugged surface'. A sniper's bullet had lodged in a copy of the Preston Herald he was carrying in his tunic.(9) In May 1901, an enormous crowd saw the return of

PRESTON NORTH END FC, SECOND DIVISION CHAMPIONS. DIRECTORS AND STAFF, 1903-04.
PLAYERS ONLY. BACK ROW (L-R): DERBYSHIRE, MCBRIDE ('ST. PETER AT THE GATE'), DANSON, TAYLOR. MIDDLE ROW: MCLEAN, TICKLE, HUNTER, TODD, WARNER, ORRELL. FRONT ROW: MAHER, WILCOX, SMITH, BELL, WILSON, LYON. TWO MEN SAT FORWARD: BOND, BOURNE. THE DIRECTOR OBSCURED AT THE EXTREME RIGHT IS WILLIAM ORD.
THOUGH FIRED TO PROMOTION THROUGH 26 GOALS FROM ACE CENTRE FORWARD PERCY SMITH, THIS SIDE ALSO CONTAINED THE YOUTHFUL DICKY BOND, A PLAYER DESTINED TO BECOME THE CLUB'S SECOND GREATEST WINGER. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

the Preston South African Volunteers, and heard the Mayor speak of the glories of an empire on which the sun never set. Future rivals were now encountered in the League for the first time; Woolwich Arsenal were beaten 2-0 in the first Second Division game at Deepdale, and Blackpool FC were beaten 4-1 in November: **While giving Blackpool credit for a plucky display, it was palpable to everyone around the enclosure that there was really only one team in it, and that team was North End.(10)**

'WE HAVE HAD A GREAT AND GLORIOUS SEASON'

North End concluded their first season of Second Division football in third place, but sank to seventh in 1903. At the 1902 AGM, shareholders made renewed demands for the appointment of a manager, 'like Mr Cameron of Spurs'. There was 'bad feeling among the players' who 'were not sufficiently under the direction of the directors'. In reply, the board protested that it had not the money for a manager-secretary.**(11)** A major effort was called for, and the following year a bazaar was organised, raising almost £1,500 to clear the club's debt. Side-shows included a pretty flower stall, a gold nugget from the Klondyke, palmistry, and a cinematographic exhibition. As the Lancashire Evening Post reported: **The scene at the Public Hall, Preston, this afternoon was eloquent of the hold which the NEFC still maintains on the affections of those who in earlier days were wont to enthuse over the brilliant achievements of the once invincible team.** In the handbook 'Perseus' urged Prestonians to make the bazaar a success, to support North End to rebuild 'Dear Old Deepdale, with its out of date stands'.**(12)**

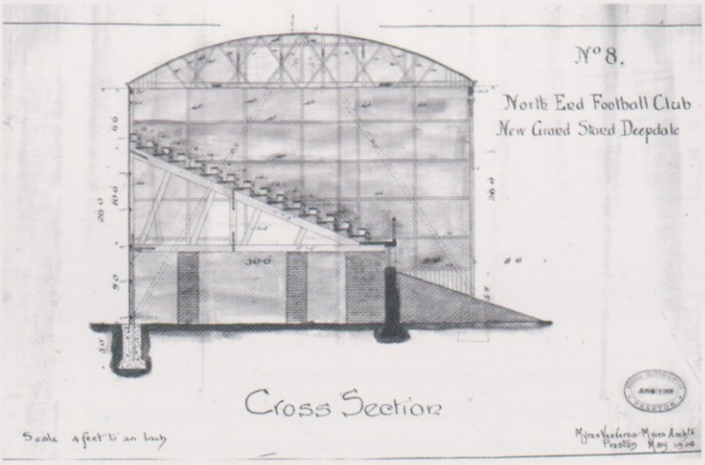
By the 1903 AGM a distinct opposition party was beginning to emerge. Though the bazaar had been a success, Ord denounced shareholders for not taking sufficient interest in the club, and failing to attend annual meetings. They would not be directors, even though 'any intelligent man' was welcome to become one. In reply a Mr. Whitewell called for a shelter on the popular side for the '6d men', who everyone knew to be the best supporters. Demands were made for a special meeting to discuss the 'progress of the club'. Houghton did not think any good could come from the idea, and Pomfret felt such a meeting 'would only produce ill'. His charge, that he had heard that several shareholders would vote to dissolve the club if it did not get back to the First Division, was greeted with cries of 'No, No'. Success on the field was now becoming essential, and it came the following season.**(13)**

The championship was decided on the final day of the season, when a crowd of 8,000, 'including a sprinkling of seasiders' crammed Deepdale for the final game, against Blackpool. Percy Smith, the star of the season, secured the championship when he scored from 25 yards, and new signing Rodway played well. Tremendous scenes greeted the final whistle, the pitch was invaded and the captain Jack Bell, and Smith, were carried shoulder high. Guns were fired, and rockets ignited, as the band from St. Vincent's Home played 'See the Conquering Hero Comes'. As Ord spoke to the crowd the tensions building in the club were temporarily forgotten: **We have had a great and glorious season. For three years we have been travelling in the wilderness of the Second Division, and I hope we shall never go through a similar three years again. I hope that the club will rise to something approaching its former greatness, and that next season when we meet in this manner it will be to herald the championship of the First Division (Prolonged hearty cheering).(14)** A few weeks later work began on the roofing-over of the Town End enclosure.

The season 1905-6 was one of the most successful in the club's history, North End finishing runners-up four points behind Liverpool. The Good Friday game at Ewood was seen by 30,000 people. Further entertainment was provided by Jack Higgins of Blackburn, 'who claims to be the champion long distance jumper of the world', who ended his performance by jumping over 20 chairs each set a yard apart.**(15)** At a triumphalist AGM, plans were announced for the construction of a West stand, and Tom Houghton spoke of winning the league and the Cup next season.**(16)** Subsequent seasons did not realise these hopes, and the team ended in the lower half of the division in almost every season until 1912 (14th, 12th, 10th, 12th and 14th), when the club was again relegated. To make matters worse, the league champions in 1911-12 (and again in 1913-14) were Blackburn Rovers. They had been strongly aided by Percy Smith signed for just £125. The directors had thought this good business, since the Deepdale favourite was 'finished'. Enough was enough. At this point a major rebellion broke out among the shareholders, highlighting issues which were to dominate the club's affairs - with only a brief respite around the middle of the twentieth century - right up to the present day.

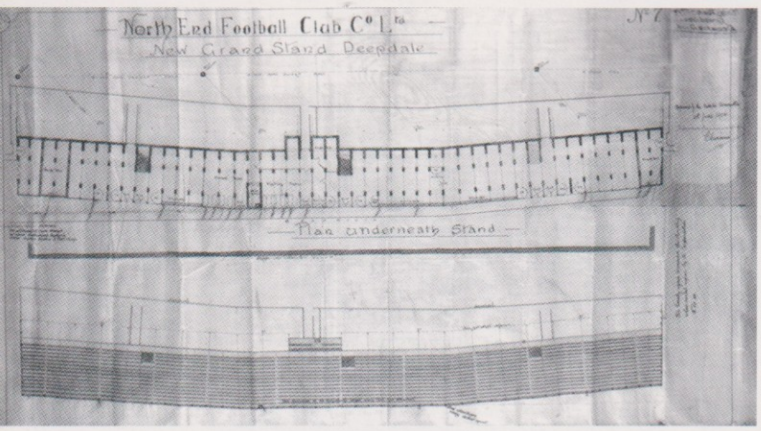
REBUILDING DEEPDALE: THE TOWN END AND WEST STAND

At the time of his fall William Sudell had been planning the redevelopment of Deepdale. The club had the land to accomplish this, for the early company accounts itemise the rental from Deepdale Farm, which had been added to the lease from the Corporation.**(17)** There were two alternatives: to rebuild the existing stands, or to move to a more convenient site along Deepdale Road, opposite St. Thomas's Road. Had the share launch been as successful as Sudell had originally hoped, the latter would have been the preferred alternative. He seems to have envisaged the construction of a



An original architect's drawing of a section through the West stand, Deepdale, 1906.

The erection of this stand, followed that of a covered Town End the previous year. It was a very conservative old fashioned design even for the 1900's, of wooden construction with a 'barrel roof'. (National Football Museum) general sports ground, with a cycling track and a grandstand along Deepdale Road. In 1897 the well-known Preston firm of Myres, Veevers & Myers produced estimates for two similar schemes, both of which included a brick and wooden grandstand. This was to be 261 feet long, 24 feet wide, with ten rows of seats to accommodate 1,800 people. It was to have three sections, with the central one reserved for dignitaries and the press. A corrugated iron roof over trusses would have been supported by wrought iron bars. The roof would also cover a raised area of terracing in front of the stand. The space underneath the stand was to be used for offices, changing rooms etc. Since the schemes would cost in excess of £5,000, and the club was capitalised at under £2,000, nothing was done. Indeed Sudell's plans for such a visionary yet potentially ruinous scheme, may have been an added incentive to 'retire' him. Improvements would have to be made as funds allowed.(18)



Architect's plan of the West stand, Deepdale, 1906.

This drawing illustrates the graceful sweeping lines of the structure, and the range of rooms it contained. With the outbreak of the Great War plans to add an elegant suite of club offices in the Scottish Baronial style (fitting for a Scottish team playing in the English League) had to be abandoned. The stand's distinctive curve round into the north end of the ground was added later. (National Football Museum)

On the rising crest of Edwardian enthusiasm, the proceeds of the 1903 bazaar and a profit of £520 from the 1903-4 season, it was decided to begin the long-delayed improvement of Deepdale. Work began on a 'large covered shelter' on the Preston or 'sixpenny side'. The new 'Town End' was to cost £600 and to hold 6-7,000 spectators. It was felt that a few wet days would pay for it.**(19)** Opened during the following season, the cost of £1,000 had been paid off by 1906. The promoted team ended above midway, and the club's affairs were said to be in a magnificent condition reflecting, 'unanimity and good feeling between the players and the directors'.**(20)** The ground was still not big enough to accommodate the lucrative Blackburn Rovers fixture, and after a further fiasco in 1906 when many people could not get into the ground, it was decided to build a large stand along the western side. 'There was no getting away from the fact that the old Deepdale ground was out of date'. There was a marked shortage of accommodation for 'one shilling', and 'two shilling people'. This would require changes to the club's tenancy and the removal of the old stands on that side.**(21)**

In June 1906, Ord announced plans for the erection of a wooden stand 340 feet long with 15 rows of seats to hold 3,500 people. It would be built about 30 yards nearer to Deepdale Road, and the playing area would be extended. A terraced paddock in the shelter of the structure would hold a further 4,500. On the north and east sides large terraced earth banks were to be raised in the hope of bringing the capacity up to 40,000. The Corporation of Preston and Mr. C. R. F. Lutwidge had granted a 21-year lease and work was to start in a few days. The scheme was to be paid for through debentures, mysteriously 'guaranteed by a certain number of gentlemen', many of whom were members of the board.**(22)** Part of the new stand was open for a practice match on August 23rd, and was much admired at the North End Sports the next day. The popular side of the ground (the east terrace) had also been enlarged, 'and from every part a splendid and uninterrupted view of the play will be obtainable'. The first league game at the improved ground was played on 5 September, when North End beat Birmingham 2-0 in a heat wave. Prices were 1s-6d in Stand A (the centre), and 1s in Stands B and C. It is interesting to note that the West stand's very distinctive curve, at what was to become the Spion Kop end, was not an original feature, but was added later.(23)

A programme of steady work was now embarked upon as the improvements began to pay their way. In 1907 further changes were made to the terracing at the Town End, and in 1911 Football Field reported further modifications to the other terraces: **On the east and the north sides strong retaining walls have been erected behind the embankments, which are being raised considerably, especially on the north east corner, near the board where the results are displayed. Up to now the corner has been a sort of 'no-man's land', except when there has been a great crush of spectators. It is calculated that the improvement will provide accommodation for nearly 10,000 additional spectators.(24)**

Clearly the old Deepdale, the smallest ground in the First Division, was a most eccentric place, and had been bereft of adequate investment for many years. Yet in renewing large parts of it the directors were not merely investing in the future, they were tacitly responding to the rising standards demanded by the public in the booming leisure industry. It was not too much to expect the club to provide a seat for people who could pay for one, or a shelter from the elements for those who could not. So far, and no further, went the customer services of the Edwardian Preston North End.

THE 1912 MANIFESTO: THE REFORM MOVEMENT AT DEEPDALE

The club's revenue grew steadily through the early 1900's. In 1893-4 it had been £3,626, rising to over £5,000 in 1900, and £8,707 in 1907-8. At the general meetings Ord strenuously argued for greater support from the townspeople and the maintenance of the maximum wage. The latter 'kept clubs more on a level', and was seen as essential to the well-being of North End, and naturally therefore, of the game. He was less forthright in divulging details of the club's business and in 1909 refused to reveal the fee paid by Bradford for Richard ('Dickie') Bond, Preston's locally born winger. They had given an undertaking to the club not to reveal it. As Pomfret told one of the shareholders, 'Did he want Preston North End to break their word?'. To which the reply came that if they would not tell them such things, why have meetings at all! Ord quickly steered the debate onto the safer ground of the directors guarantees at the bank.(25) Bond was a serious loss. He was the club's star player, and had been leading goal scorer in the 1905-6 'runners-up' team. Years later old-timers compared him very favourably with Finney, who some reckoned to be a mere 'shuffler' in comparison. Important developments were, however, made in these years. A mutually beneficial relationship was arranged with the Lancashire Combination side, Southport Central, who became something of a reserve team. In 1906-7 Joe McCall, the 'Pride of Kirkham and Wrea Green', and North End's future England centre half, made an unspectacular debut.

In the years immediately before the First World War British society was torn by constitutional demands of all kinds: reform of the House of Lords, Lloyd George's Welfare Budget, the demand for votes for women and for Home Rule in Ireland. The voices of working people were beginning to be heard in Parliament and a series of national strikes began to challenge the long established status quo in industry. At Deepdale, the ordinary supporter had no say at all in the running of the club, apart from the veto of staying away from matches. The shareholders, however, had access to the only forum for influential debate, the annual meeting, which Messrs Ord, Pomfret and Houghton could generally handle adeptly.

As the dreadful 1911-12 relegation season unfolded, the great 'constitutional crisis' developed at Deepdale. In January, a shareholder wrote to the press, 'Will not some influential shareholder call a meeting, and see if we cannot move this stagnant board?'.(26) In April the Lancashire Daily Post mistakenly reported 'all the passengers safe' from the RMS Titanic, and on 1 June 'Perseus' at last

Preston North End FC, 1913-14.

This side, sandwiched between the promotion teams of 1912-13 and 1914-15, is notable for the presence of Alf Common (front row, second left), who had once been the first 'Thousand Pound' player. His recruitment marked the rise of James Taylor's influence at Deepdale, just as the signature of Eddie Quigley in 1949 for a record fee would come to mark the end of it. (National Football Museum)

stated his position; few of the directors had any personal liability for the club's overdraft, there was no machinery for establishing close links between the board and the players, no supervision of the players, and the club needed a means of developing its own players. On the main demand he was quite clear: **The necessity might be met by the appointment of a team selection and management committee on the directorate, but I think that the situation demands the services of a qualified supervisor of the work and training of the players.** A scouting system must be established and a good team spirit developed, for 'the future of North End football lies in a zealous and united effort to set it in a new and firmer course'. In short, the directors feared the loss of their prerogative no less than the members of the House of Peers!

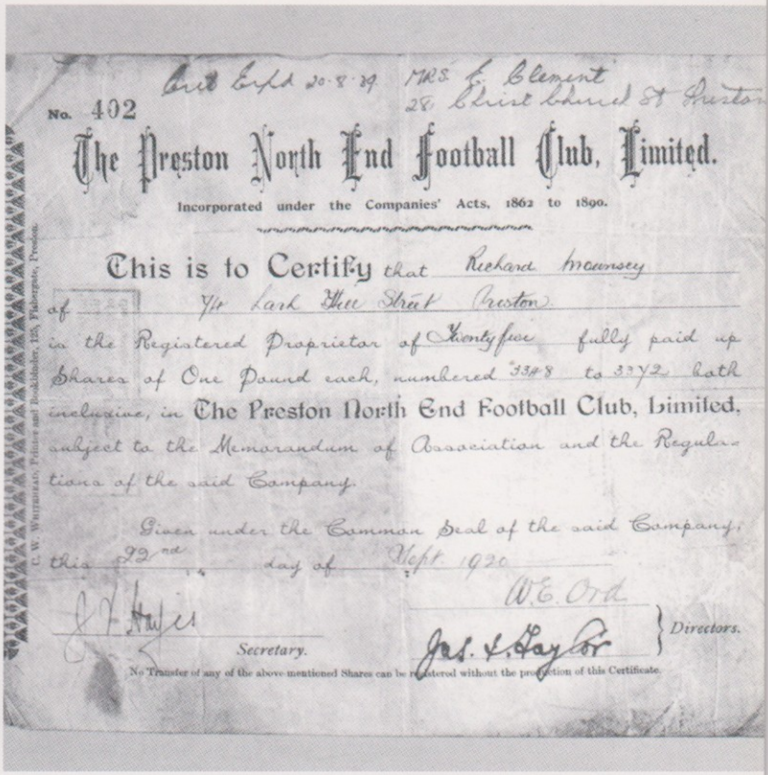
One of the directors, Joe Shanley, now broke ranks, denouncing the club as 'a convalescent home for useless players', while the directors handicapped themselves 'by signing useless players who are done with'.(27) Other directors allowed themselves to be interviewed. Tom Houghton, just weeks away from his death, was questioned on team selection. **'How many pick the team?' 'Twelve have picked the team now for four or five years. North End used to have a selection committee of five. The Selection Committee ought to consist of men who are loyal to each other, and work with perfect understanding. They ought to be men who are tactful in dealing with footballers, because of their varied temperament'.(28)** The club needed money, and had done well to survive, but could fight its way back next season, 'The directors are not asleep, but are endeavouring now to strengthen the team'. A board of 12 was too large, and a smaller one would have to agree on a policy, but without better support the club would 'have to plod on as our means allow us'.

A Shareholders' Committee had been formed, and all the directors realised that they were in for a torrid time at the forthcoming meetings.

CANCER ON THE BOARD: THE SHAREHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION

At an extraordinary meeting to discuss the reform of the club, Ord outlined the plan to reduce the number of directors from 12 to eight. Members of this more compact body, it was hoped, would all take up personal financial guarantees to the bank. In the past only a portion of the board had 'put their money in', producing two-tiers of directors. This was met by the angry cry that such piecemeal changes would not cut out 'the serious cancer on the board'. Ord ruled out of order any detailed discussion of the directors' liabilities, and when pressed for the names of those eligible for election, he told the questioner 'to ask at the ground'. The shareholders then withdrew to hold their own meeting. Mr. R. P. Woodhouse supported the assertion that just four men actually ran the club, and though only 43 people (apart from the directors) owned more than 10 shares each, a large majority voted in favour of a motion to appoint a manager. The group's chairman, Mr. G. Hurst, then expounded his views on the type of directorate they needed: **There was wanted a combination of men, a proportion of whom, whilst being financially strong, would assist intelligently in the management of the club, and the remaining directors would be men, whose knowledge and experience of the game especially fitted them for the direct control of the players.(29)** Men were needed who could 'sympathise and encourage' the players, especially the young ones. An old player like Bob Howarth would fit the bill.

The annual meeting three weeks later was lively and heated. The chairman felt they had been unlucky to be relegated; they had almost stayed up, and they would have to 'manfully face the crisis' ahead. Prestonians did not support the club as they ought, but there had been 'good receipts from the sale of players'. The real dispute began when Hurst, on behalf of the shareholders' committee, having asked for a 'closer working with the public', suggested the appointment of a manager. Ord would accept 'a strong, capable, trainer', adding, 'I don't understand the meaning of team manager'. Pomfret asked what a team manager would do: **If you are in favour of one of those managers who come to our ground wearing gold rings - (interruption) - and smoking large cigars - (further interruption) - I am not in favour of one.(30)** He wanted a first-class trainer. A clash then developed between Harold Parker, who had played for the club as a gentleman amateur, and Tom Houghton. Parker was the future managing director of William Calvert & Sons (a leading local cotton firm), and a future vice-president of the club. As secretary of the shareholders' committee, he stated their case clearly, 'We want a strong man to control the players generally, and who is quite capable of teaching and training our new material'. Houghton was furious, the players were well trained, and 'he thought the chairman, vice-chairman and himself had done their best for 19 years'.



Cert Exd 20.8.39 Mrs E. Clement
28 Christ Church St Preston

No. 402

The Preston North End Football Club, Limited.

Incorporated under the Companies' Acts, 1862 to 1890.

C. W. Whitehead, Printer and Bookbinder, 125, Fishergate, Preston.

This is to Certify that Richard Mounsey of 74 Lark Hill Street Preston is the Registered Proprietor of Twenty five fully paid up Shares of One Pound each, numbered 3348 to 3372 both inclusive, in The Preston North End Football Club, Limited, subject to the Memorandum of Association and the Regulations of the said Company.

Given under the Common Seal of the said Company, this 22nd day of Sept 1920

Secretary.

W.E. Ord
Jas. T. Taylor
Directors.

No Transfer of any of the above-mentioned Shares can be registered without the production of this Certificate.

A Share certificate in the first North End company.

The club had a very large number of small shareholders, usually holding just a handful of shares. Share transfers were arranged at the end of the board meetings. This example is signed by William Ord and James Taylor. (National Football Museum)

Harold Parker then spoke of 'slackness in the tent', and rumours of the men playing cards when they should be training on Sunday mornings. From the back of the crowded room, the trainer Barton then offered £100 to anyone who could prove this. In conclusion Hurst stated that the shareholders' committee should not be seen as antagonistic to the board. They wanted a responsible man as manager. This was not the sort of person Pomfret had described. Parker then drew attention to the shameful way Peter McBride's long career had ended at Deepdale, saying the board should at least have sent him a letter of appreciation. This was an 'oversight' Ord conceded. Amid cries of 'Clear out the board', and 'Cancer on the board', one shareholder stated that though there had been 12 directors, the opinions of eight of them were ignored. Still very angry, Houghton ended the meeting by stating that he was 'fed up of abuse', and the next person who slandered him, he would take action against. They should all pull together to help North End. The meeting had stimulated a thoroughgoing discussion of the running of the club, and 'Perseus' could proclaim 'A New Policy for the Government of Preston North End', with some justification. Some of the ideas to emerge in this 1912 'manifesto' for a 'Progressive Policy', were to underpin the club's great revival in the 1930's.(31)

The Second Division championship followed in 1912-13. A good profit had been made, and a progressive youth policy was introduced. Barton had done well as the trainer, the Shareholders' Association was pushed back, and Hurst was now forced to oppose the planned increase in the cost of his members' season tickets.(32) Immediate relegation in 1914 now seems to have aroused no undue fears. To give the secretary closer control over the staff, it was planned to build him an office at the ground. Fittingly, this remarkable house-like appendage to the West stand was to be built in the high Scottish Baronial style. The management issue had been fudged, the directors now had greater financial involvement, and the team was run by a secretary and a trainer. As Walter Pomfret concluded at the annual meeting in May 1914, 'They might be the 'old gang' - (laughter) - but they were not too old to so work when necessary (Applause)'. With the club partly launched on a progressive policy, and the ambitious Jim Taylor on the board, the affairs of a wider world abruptly swept in along Deepdale Road.(33)

JAMES ISHERWOOD TAYLOR

The club's most important addition to its 'staff' in the twentieth century was made at this time, and he was not a player. James Taylor was born in 1875, the same year that the North End Cricket Club moved to Deepdale.(34) As a teenager he was inspired by William Sudell's achievements and felt keenly and painfully the club's relative fall from such heights. His passion to advance the club became the central driving force in his life, at times pushing his wife and three children to one side. Walter Pilkington ('Viator'), who knew him very well, tried to rationalise this near fanaticism and found his sense of purpose to be 'the greatness, pride and prestige of North End, the club that wrapped itself round his heart from his boyhood days'. The club came to dominate his life, 'like a fond, if sometimes troublesome son, thriving to maturity'.(35) He joined the board in March 1912, 'They knew me as a keen North Ender, and felt I might become an active spirit on the board ...I believed in progressive ideas'.(36) Taylor quickly became a well known figure at football grounds, and in later years never varied his immaculate attire of the prosperous Stoke-on-Trent wholesale pottery merchant of the 1900's - bowler hat and high wing collar. He quickly filled Houghton's active role on the board, with responsibility for signing players. It was fitting that his first signing should be Alf Common, who had been the first £1,000 footballer, and that one of the last should be Eddie Quigley, whose transfer broke the world record for a British player.

Taylor became the living embodiment of the progressive ideas of his time, advocating a youth policy, ground improvement when prudent, extensive 'watching' and scouting, and heavy investment in new players. On four important occasions his drive pushed the club into a progressive policy; in 1912 with the signing of Common and later Osborne, in 1918-19 with the reconstruction of the side, the vast investment in Willie Russell, Alec James and Dave Morris in 1925/6, and the turning back from the brink of disaster in 1931 with the recruitment of Harper and Rowley. The full list of his signings is a 'Who's Who' of North End players from 1912 to 1950. His greatest achievement was the wonderful team of the late thirties, which, with the young Finney, could have gone on to even greater heights in the 1940's.

A man with strongly held opinions, he was often at odds with his fellow directors. He resigned in 1916, but it was decided 'leave it over for the present'.**(37)** His second resignation in 1921 was a more serious affair which threatened to split the club, and he failed to be re-elected in 1922. Though now a member 'of the old order', 'Perseus' hoped, **For a fusion of forces whereby the benefit of Mr. Taylor's experience and the standing he enjoys in football outside the club could be used to the club's advantage in some direction.(38)** With the change of policy in 1925 Taylor was recalled, and though various checks were put on him, he had become the club's driving force by the time of his virtual coup d'état in 1931. Significantly, Nat Buck, who was put onto the board to restrain him, became his most ardent attendant. For most of this period he ran all aspects of the team directly with the trainer Will Scott. With the death of Meyrick Hollins in 1938, James Taylor finally became the club's chairman. He was forced to retire through ill health in 1950, and was succeeded by Nat Buck. James Taylor died in his eightieth year, in September 1955.

Thus to Taylor everything had to take second place to the 'good' of the club, which, of course, he alone decided. Pilkington described him as: **A personality of moods, but of inflexible purpose and determination who meant what he said ...Like all big men, he made mistakes, but they were trifling compared with his successes ...He was obstinate, and could be ruthless in pursuing an objective ...Jealousy, prejudice and a certain degree of enmity inevitably had to be suffered in the carving out of a niche as individual as that to which Mr. Taylor so steadfastly applied himself. He rode over them in the somewhat roughshod way he had found necessary in dealing with little things. He had a few competitors, but none for a long time of any weight.(39)** Frequent vilification by his fellow North Enders, particularly following the sale of Alec James in 1929, and accusations in the 1930's that he was the 'Dictator of Deepdale', do not seem to have bothered him unduly.

FOOTBALL AND THE KAISER

The outbreak of the Great War was greeted by manifestations of wild enthusiasm in Preston. A remarkable prelude to a conflict which at Mons, Ypres, the Somme and Passchendaele was to witness the most shattering disasters in English history since the Black Death of the winter of 1349-50. That civilisation, let alone professional football, should survive, was remarkable. In fact, the game emerged as an important morale booster, and in these terrible years it established a level of popular support which it has not yet lost. Early on in the war many thought that the game should be abandoned. In a speech in January 1915 the Kaiser claimed that Englishmen cared more for football than the war, and locally a clergyman protested that the 20,000 men at Ewood Park the previous Saturday, 'would have been better employed delivering tracts'. As the initial rush to enlist faded, observers were appalled at the large assemblies of working men to be seen on the country's football grounds, while their fellows were dying in France. In February 1915 the Lancashire Daily Post, referred to the 'slackers hanging around public houses and football grounds when religion and patriotism called them to the Front'.**(40)**

Relegation, enlistment, war work and general disruption caused gates at Deepdale to fall by about a third in the 1914-15 season. The absentees included a number of 'conscientious objectors to football in wartime', whose motives 'Perseus' respected, 'while absolutely disagreeing with their actions'. He felt that football, 'as the common people's entertainment' had been made a scapegoat.**(41)** In the letters column of the Lancashire Daily Post, the campaign to abandon professional football at Deepdale was led in the summer of 1915 by a correspondent signing himself 'North Ender'. On 26 June he listed the players who had joined up,

British Empire Day at Deepdale, 1909.

The open, tree swarded, and undulating East Terrace can clearly be seen in this view. (National Football Museum)

concluding: "All honour to them. If the numbers increase from the Deepdale club one can with pride call oneself 'North Ender'".

In July, Blackburn Rovers, motivated by 'high and patriotic principle', decided not to play again until the war was over.**(42)** Already more than 40,000 men had been killed in the Dardenelles campaign. Though the Blackburn players simply signed for other teams, great pressure was brought on North End to follow suit. With the suspension of league football, William Ord felt the club had a duty to offer the game to those who wanted it, and so North End would carry on. No 'slackers' would be employed.**(43)** The game had become an important leisure activity for those working long hours in the town's booming war industries. In September, 'Deepdale' denounced the 'grasping spirit' of some clubs and asked for entry prices to be cut.**(44)** 'No Longer North Ender' was appalled: **Can we, whilst the best part of our manhood is enduring untold hardships, risking their lives, nay, giving their lives, and whilst the constant cry is being raised that more men are required for the army, can we, I ask, attend football matches and watch vigorous, trained young fellows who have no strong ties, kick a football?(45)**

This coincided with various recruitment schemes in the town. Meyrick Hollins, a future North End chairman, and director of Horrockses, Crewdson & Co. (Preston's largest employer), raised his own company.**(46)** By early June 1915 'Perseus' was urging the team to join up.**(47)** Few had done so, though the directors had ordered details of the Footballers' Battalion of the Middlesex Regiment to be posted up in the players' room.**(48)** The Lancashire Football Association had 4,756 players in the colours, whereas the Lancashire professional clubs had sent a mere 11, including a single North Ender.**(49)** By August, the situation had altered with the decision not to pay summer wages, the lapsing of the players' annual contracts and the availability of local munitions work: **North End's position in terms of football is not very good. But they have the more enduring satisfaction that they have supplied more men to the Forces and to munitions work**

than most of the others.(50) Osborn, Jones, Barbour, Alstead, McGuire and Johnson were in the Army; Rodway, Morley and Broadhurst were working at Dick,Kerr; Dawson, Henderson and Thompson were working at Armstrongs in the North East. Charles Parker, the club secretary, enlisted as a military auditor, and plans to construct his new office were abandoned.

NORTH ENDERS' LETTERS FROM THE FRONT

The slaughter of Prestonians was horrific. The 'Preston Pals', for example, were quickly virtually wiped out, and when the Mayor was able to visit them at the end of 1915, few locals were left in their battalion.**(51)** In May 1915, a letter from a member of the 5th King's Own Royal Lancaster Regiment told how they had lost 300 men in one hour during a bombardment at Ypres. This left the survivors knelt in prayer or lying in the bottom of their blown-out trench, which was then gassed. Only 210 men remained of their original complement of 1,200.**(52)** The official account suggests that some 2,380 men born in Preston were killed.**(53)** Many others were wounded, and the North End club was heavily involved in fund-raising for the hospital for the wounded established across from the ground on Moor Park. In December 1915 word was received from a group of North Enders held prisoner in Germany, asking local people to send them food.**(54)**

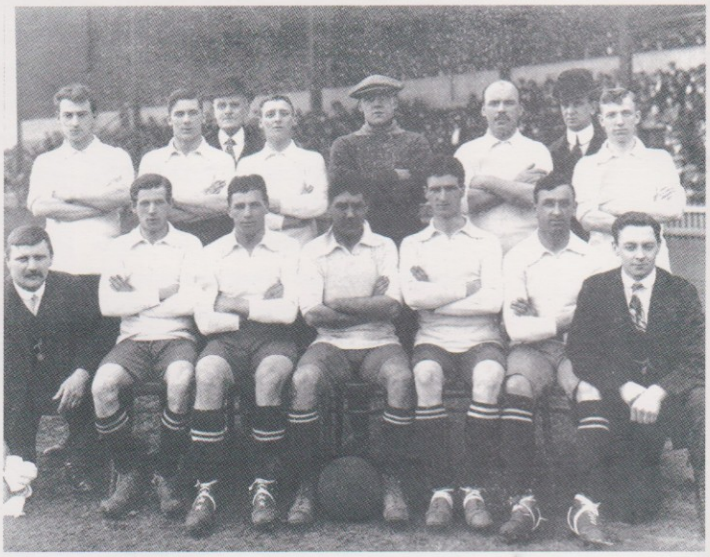
Throughout the war the local press carried letters and news from the players in the Forces. At New Year 1915, the Lancashire Daily Post quoted a letter from Rifleman C. Mallard, describing the first Christmas in the trenches. This included a variant of the story of the Anglo-German football match: **On Christmas Day we agreed to play a football match, and we got a football, but their colonel would not let them play, so we had a bit of a game of our own.(55)** In February a Burnley supporter wrote, 'Thanks for the Football Post that gets here all right. There is quite a scramble for it amongst the boys, and they scan it eagerly, for they are keen as ever for football news'.**(56)** In June 1915, Herbert ('Chippy') Danson wrote to 'Perseus', from 'Somewhere in France'. He had been almost an ever-present between 1905 and 1912: **I am all right myself, but to win this war we shall have to get all the men possible. You can tell all my old comrades that they are sure of a medal if they don't get knocked out in the round they have to play, but they are playing for the best team in the world - England. If they enlist they are promised a free trip up the Rhine, boots and rig out found, with plenty of money to spend, and a rifle for sport.(57)**

It became quite common for the club to send footballs to supporters in the trenches. C. E. Jones, the goalkeeper, received one at Christmas 1915, and organised wartime matches. He wrote: **The trenches are in a beautiful state. It has been raining and raining for the past week, and it is so cold you cannot get warm. I am sitting here shivering like a leaf. I see by the paper the bad luck is still with you, but never mind, it will surely change round, and I hope it will not be long in coming.(58)** After the war he played a dozen games for the club in 1919-20. His fellow keeper, Herbert Taylor, who had long served as McBride's understudy before taking his place in 1911, was serving as a corporal. When he found time to write in March 1917, Deepdale seemed a long way away: **I am looking forward to seeing you in Preston again before long, as it is nearly 18 months since I came out to France, and two years since joining up ...I was looking at your paper today ...the team looked a bit strange, only Joe McCall, Fred Broadhurst, and George Barlow left of the old lot who won the second division championship four years ago. Yes that was a good side. It was a treat to play in it. I often wonder where they have all got to.(59)**

In September 1917, Fred Osborn, the centre forward whose 17 goals had fired North End to promotion in 1915, and who had been one of the first players to enlist, wrote to James Taylor. He had been in France for two years, but thought of nothing else but football and playing for North End again, which seems to have kept him going. The post-war team (if that ever came) would clearly be built around him: **Ten days' leave from here is worth ten years of one's life - I am not joking. I was very sorry to hear about Ford (killed July 1917). One never knows when his time is coming. We had four months of the Arras smash, and I am getting a bit of an old soldier by now - 21 months active service out of two years and three months since I enlisted. I hope you have a good season, both in the field and financially.** He thought the 'Bosche' knew he was 'licked', but refused to give up. He survived all this only to be wounded in the very last days of the war: **Well, I have stopped one at last, but it is rather hard luck - two days before the finish. Still it might have been worse. I got hit in the right thigh, where I have two nasty wounds - you could nearly get your hand in them - but it has not caught the bone. I was also struck by a piece of a shell that passed through my gas mask, great coat, and tunic, and lodged in my pay book after going through a pocket full of letters and cards.(60)** Despite this Osborne still hoped to come back and 'lead the North End', but he was to manage just seven games for them in 1919-20.

SELLING SCRAP: WAR-TIME FOOTBALL AT DEEPDALE

Although Football continued at Deepdale throughout the war, match coverage found itself increasingly pushed to one side by reports of great world events. During the 1916 Easter Rising, North End defeated Bury 2-0, and as the Russian revolution began ('Revolution in Russia; Czar abdicates; Reason not carrying on the war as the people expected') they drew 1-1 at Burslam Port Vale. The Bolshevik revolution ('Kerensky overthrown; M. Trotsky declared the Provisional government no longer existed. M. Lenin who was received with prolonged cheers, made a speech ..') was marked by mixed portents in Lancashire football - North End beat Bury 2-1, but Blackburn Rovers lost 16-0 to Stoke. Celebrations at the armistice were dulled by news of North End's defeat by Southport Vulcan, but the subsequent departure of the German battle fleet to internment in Scapa Flow perhaps inspired them to defeat Manchester United 4-2.



PRESTON NORTH END FC, DIVISION TWO RUNNERS-UP, 1914-15. BACK ROW (L-R): HOLDSWORTH, OSBORNE, MR. WALTER POMFRET, BROADHURST, JONES, RODWAY, MR. JAMES TAYLOR, DAWSON. FRONT ROW: J. BARTON (TRAINER), FORD, BARBOUR, MCCALL, MACAULEY, TOWARD, MARSHALL.

WALTER POMFRET WAS ONE OF THE EARLY NORTH ENDERS, AND THIS PHOTOGRAPH ALSO INCLUDES A YOUNG JAMES TAYLOR. GREAT PRESSURE WAS PUT ON THE PLAYERS TO ENLIST, AND A NUMBER OF THEM WOULD SHORTLY BE WRITING TO HIM FROM THE WESTERN FRONT. OF THIS GROUP BARBOUR AND FORD WERE KILLED, AND OSBORN SERIOUSLY WOUNDED. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

The outbreak of the war passed without comment in the club minutes. On 28 August 1914 it was agreed that, 'J. J. Melling to be allowed to sell meat and potato pies'. In November wounded soldiers were to be allowed free admission, and the following June the Preston Defence Corps were allowed to set up a shooting range behind the Town End, so long as they agreed not to bring explosives into Deepdale. Into the new year the team's form in the Second Division was poor, having taken just 22 points from 21 games. At the end of January a 1-0 defeat of Blackpool registered their first win since 7 December. A run then began which took 28 points from the next 17 games. Promotion was secured by the club's 20th win of the season, a 3-0 defeat of Arsenal in front of a 10,000 crowd. Joe McCall was now in his prime and was the star of the season. The suspension of league football which then began was not thought to be too serious in North End's case: **It is unlikely that the strength of their team would be radically affected by a season's lapse, the majority of the men being young as professionals go, and none in the veteran's stage.(61)**

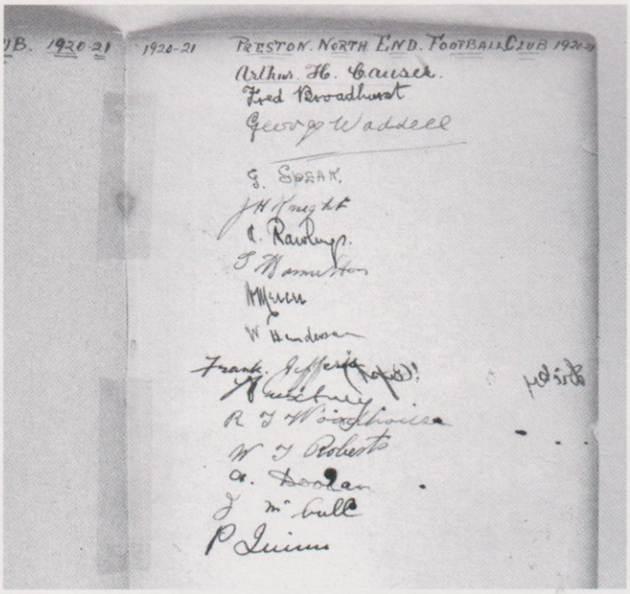
At the 1915 AGM, Ord explained that although the club had debts of £2,692, losses during the last season were offset by the profit of the year before. He could only 'look for events in Europe to improve the grand old game'. The progressive plans of the pre-war years would have to be shelved.**(62)** Having decided to continue with football, the implications of 'Perseus's' demands for player enlistment now came home to haunt him. North End clearly had the weakest side of the 14 teams in the new Lancashire section. Burnley had 'all their prominent players of the last two seasons', while the leading Blackburn men had gone to Blackpool, who sported an all-star side. A series of disastrous results followed, in the club's worst ever run. Men working in the munitions plants could not get the time off to travel to away games, and teams had to be made up of whoever could be found.**(63)**

Casualties mounted, and as the home front came under increasing pressure, 'Perseus' and his readers sought solace in a series of very popular articles on the great days of the club's past. By September 1915, he was denouncing North End's rivals: **Tom Rodway makes the eighth North End player to enlist. If every club's players had done the same there would be fewer 5-0 defeats.(64)** Spectators must appreciate, he solemnly stated, that they were only watching the game: the result was not important. In the last week of October both Blackpool and Southport put five goals past North End, who were the only team in England without a win. Popular anger now turned against the directors who were denounced for not signing the dispossessed Blackburn men.**(65)** In mid-January even fellow strugglers Manchester United managed to beat them, and by the middle of the month 50 goals had been conceded and 51 players tried in the team. Despite his own part in this shambles, 'Perseus' now denounced the board for the continuation of the outworn policies that had gone before. The team's play was 'wearisome to the flesh', while the soldiers stationed at the Barracks were accused of not supporting the team.**(66)** The club's receipts of £807 compared with £1,195 at Blackpool and £1,818 at Turf Moor. In the subsidiary competition that followed the short season North End did a little better, finishing in sixth place.

The continuation of the game in wartime was now seen as a positive benefit, and as John Lewis wrote: **The game has undoubtedly proved its value as a means of innocent recreation to toil-worn workers, and has lived down the disrepute into which fanatical fools sought to cast it as a hindrance to the proper prosecution of the war.(67)** The full significance of this was only to become apparent in the first post-war soccer boom in 1919-20. In the season 1916-17, the same formula of a regional section and a subsidiary competition was retained, but local interest fell away even further. At the 1916 AGM, Ord thanked the players, who had often to travel a good distance, and rarely played in the same side two weeks running. In the long run he was more hopeful: **They did not know how long the war would last, but they had a well-equipped ground on which the debt amounted to only £1,500, and he ventured to say that such a ground could not again be secured under £6,000 or £7,000. They could only, therefore, mark time and wait until they could carry on football as in the years prior to the war.(68)** In 1917 the Christmas Day derby gate at the now revived Blackburn Rovers produced £120, just one tenth of the pre-war sum.

North End had found a steady source of talent in the troops passing through Fulwood barracks, but in March 1917, these men were posted, leading 'Perseus' to comment: **They have now gone to do their duty in a more serious game and on a deadlier field, and nobody who knows the part**

that sport has already played in the great conflict will doubt for a moment that they will do themselves and their kind the same honour that they have done in football.(69) In the subsidiary tournament of 1917 the team managed just eight wins from 32 games. In spite of the world crisis, this led to perhaps the strongest denunciation of a North End board seen in the local press before the late-1970's: **Preston North End are a poor outfit ..the situation has been accepted as a kind of necessary evil, rather than as a opportunity for discovery, and not all directors have taken an active interest in the running of the club. There has been nothing of the refiner's fire about the policy, no purging of obsolete ideas, no adoption of new ideals. It may be that all that will come; I hope so, for without it North End football will continue to be the lifeless, uninspiring kind of thing it has been for years.(70)** It was hoped for 'a new type of football' once the war was over.



B. 1920-21

1920-21 PRESTON. NORTH END. FOOTBALL CLUB 1920-21

Arthur H. Causer.
Fred Broadhurst
George Waddell
G. Spear.
J H Knight
A. Rawlings.
T Hamilton
W Henderson
Frank. Jefferis (Capt).
R J Woodhouse
W J Roberts
A. Doolan
J McCall
P Quinn

TEAM MEMBERS' AUTOGRAPHS 1920.

AS SOON AS THE GREAT WAR ENDED ALL ATTENTION AT DEEPDALE WAS CONCENTRATED ON THE NEED TO REBUILD THE TEAM, AND SO AVOID A REPEAT OF THE PRE-WAR, YO-YO YEARS. THESE EFFORTS RESULTED IN THE EMERGENCE OF ONE OF THE CLUB'S GREATEST CUP SIDES. IT INCLUDED TOMMY ROBERTS, NORTH END'S CENTRE FORWARD AND THEIR LEADING GOALSCORER BEFORE THE ADVENT OF TOM FINNEY. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

As the war reached its climax in 1917 and 1918, conditions on the home front deteriorated alarmingly. Among all the other shortages, that of wood pulp led to a drastic shrinking of the Lancashire Daily Post. Football coverage was greatly reduced. At the AGM of 1917, the directors were praised for having kept the club going, and for their sense of economy.**(71)** These were dark days indeed. The naval blockade of Britain was seriously disrupting food supplies, and it was estimated that the amount of food a sovereign would buy now, would have cost just 9s-11d in 1914. In December a convoy of ten ships was reported to have been lost to 'U-boats'. In June a new horror was reported, when the East End of London was bombed by aeroplanes. The Deepdale executive had not lost their old sharpness however, for in July, as the Russian revolution gathered momentum ('Calm in Petrograd - Lenin reported to have fled'), they had Deepdale repainted. It was said to look better than ever, and the work had 'been done cheap'. A large stock of iron railings had been bought before the war, for incorporation in a 'motor compound' behind the Town End. These had been sold at a good price to pay for the work.**(72)**

Football began its fourth war season, and the third under the regional system, in August 1917, more from a sense of duty than anything else: **Nobody pretends there is a great deal of pleasure in, or a great deal of satisfaction from, it. It is more a duty than a delight - the duty of keeping the game and the clubs alive for the future and for those who are fighting, those to whom sport, especially this form of it, has become a sacred thing.(73)**

North End had followed an extremely cautious policy through the war and had paid the price of low grade football. An enthusiastic Liverpool supporter had an exchange with 'Perseus' on this matter after the Merseysiders had beaten North End 6-0: **'Made a mess of you didn't we?' 'Yes' came the reply, 'While other teams are making a mess of the Germans'.(74)** By this stage of the war, however, the club's position seems to have been slightly better than that of both Burnley and Blackburn Rovers.

The pooling of gate receipts helped, and in September Joe McCall and 'other spare parts' were loaned to Rovers. The team lost 6-0.(75) That all this was not quite as selfless as it would seem is suggested by the revelation in May 1918, that North End's loss on the 1917-18 season of £257, would have been even greater through overheads and fixed charges, if the team had not played at all. Indeed, the club's financial position improved during the war.(76) Football coverage shrank almost entirely in the last weeks of the conflict, but on 2 November 1918, as the Axis fell apart, North End were reported to have secured their fifth win in a row.

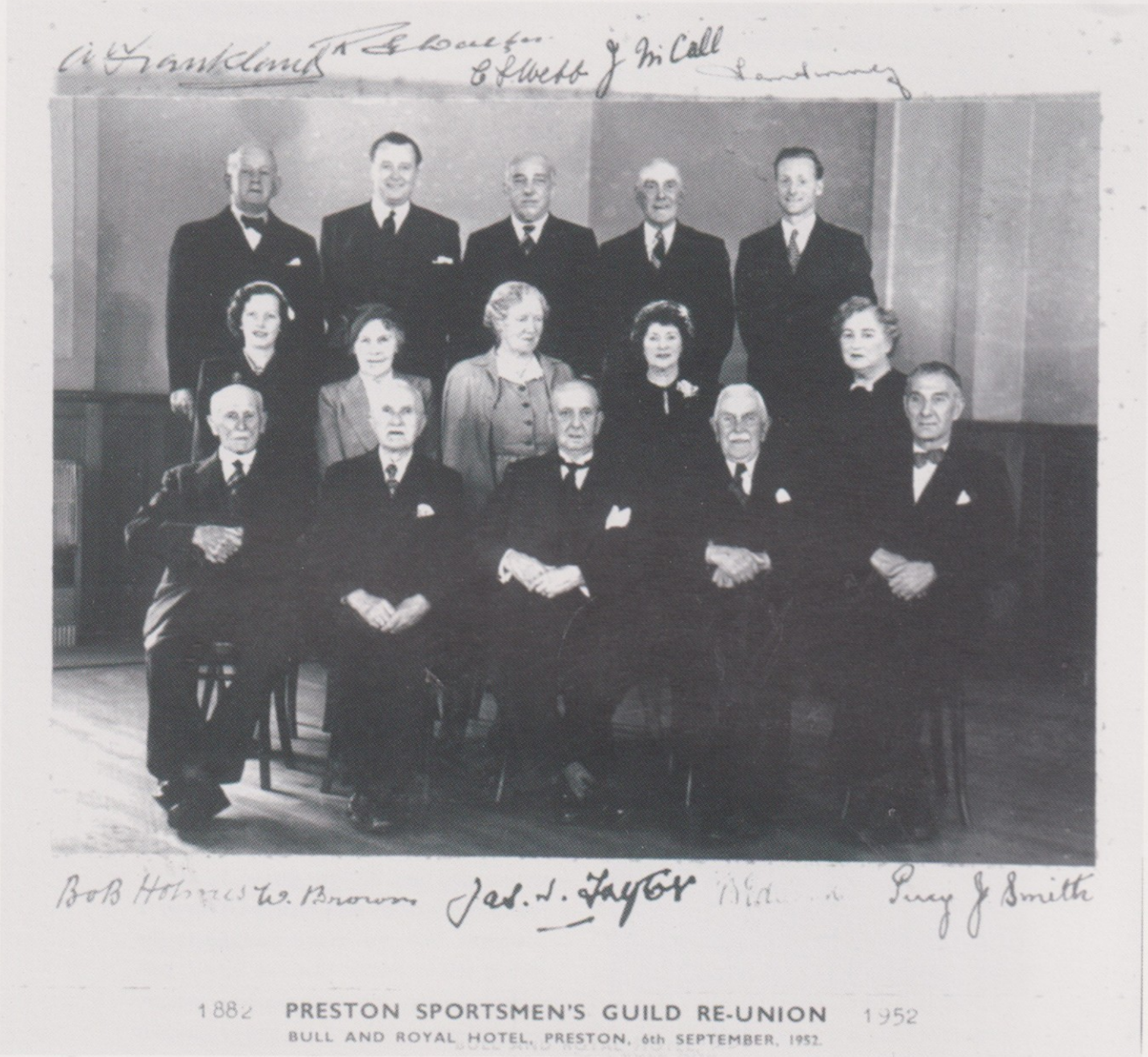
JOE McCALL'S WAR

At the start of the war Joe McCall was at the height of his career and was perhaps the only high quality player in the club. During the promotion season 1914-15, he was consistently singled out for praise. He was: **A magnificent instance of what a man can make of himself by the application of thought and industry. Less than ten years ago he was a crude player, unable to trap a ball within six yards, or work in any confined space - apparently a hopeless case from the standpoint of finish and style, yet for five years past, I hold he has been unapproached in the position ...He has perfected himself in the craft and subtlety of the game, its feint, its artifice, its science.(77)** With the end of league football in 1915, McCall was 'learning all about motors' at Merigold's Garage, in order to become 'a real dinky chauffeur mechanic'. He would continue to play for the club as an amateur, but since they had thriftily cancelled his railway contract between Wrea Green and Preston, he was said to be losing money by doing so.(78) With the wholesale loss of the playing staff, McCall had to carry whatever side he was put out with. Accounts of him through 1917 constantly refer to his class at this time: 'North End blessed with a McCall', 'McCall played a brilliant game', and 'McCall the Towering Personality'.(79)

The great fear at Deepdale was that he would be called up. This would obviously deprive the club of his services, and it was felt that a prolonged spell away from the game would foreshorten his career. He was initially rejected as unfit for military service due to footballing leg and groin injuries, and had sunk his savings into an egg collecting business around Wrea Green. This was on a large scale (he was said to be handling 15,000 eggs a week), and it was thought that this work might further postpone his enlistment. In August 1917 he was passed B1, and his enlistment became a certainty, leading the directors to then hope that he might be posted to Fulwood Barracks. In the event he was posted to the Royal Field Artillery at Gosport. While he was on leave, great crowds would roll up in the hope that he would play. The war ended with him reported to be very fit and anxious to be demobbed to return to North End - and his eggs. Wrea Green was said to be missing the chug-chug of his egg motor.

DEEPDALE AND WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION: THE DICK,KERR LADIES.

The mobilisation of women for factory work during the Great War did much to advance the fight for women's emancipation, and in December 1918 women aged over 30 were allowed to vote. In Preston large numbers were employed in virtually all enterprises, from the town's tramcars to the teaching staff of Preston Grammar School. With munitions work, the local foundry industry expanded enormously, and the staff at Dick,Kerr which trebled from 2,000, included a thousand women. Sex has never been a bar to the enthusiasm of the North Enders, and when the firm's male side was struggling, Grace Sibbert started a women's eleven. Her husband was a POW, and funds were raised for the Moor Park hospital. The first game against a side from Coulthards, was won at Penwortham in October 1917. The North End directors allowed the use of Deepdale, not so much (one suspects) from any desire to participate in the great emancipation struggle of the twentieth century, but for the £5 match fee. On Christmas day 1917, a crowd of over


A Frankland
J McCall
Bob Holmes
W. Brown
Jas. I. Taylor
Percy J Smith
1882 PRESTON SPORTSMEN'S GUILD RE-UNION 1952
BULL AND ROYAL HOTEL, PRESTON, 6th SEPTEMBER, 1952.

THE PRESTON SPORTSMEN'S PRESTON GUILD REUNION DINNER, 1952.

A GATHERING OF PRESTON'S FOOTBALLING CELEBRITIES AT THE BULL & ROYAL HOTEL, INCLUDING BOB HOLMES (FRONT, LEFT), PERCY SMITH (FRONT, RIGHT), TOM FINNEY (REAR, RIGHT WING), AND JOE MCCALL (REAR, SECOND RIGHT). ALFRED FRANKLAND OF DICK,KERR LADIES AND PRESTON LADIES (REAR, LEFT) AND J. I. TAYLOR OF THE NORTH END REPRESENTED THE MANAGEMENT OF THE TOWN'S LEADING WOMEN'S AND MEN'S TEAMS. AMONG THEIR RESPECTIVE WIVES ARE MRS. FINNEY (MIDDLE, LEFT) AND MRS TAYLOR (MIDDLE, CENTRE). (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

10,000 at Deepdale saw the women win 4-0, raising £600 in the process. It took some time for the crowd to adjust to the slower play, and the 'heftiness' of some of the participants came as a surprise, but from the start the venture was a success. The team played in distinctive black and white stripes 'with natty close fitting hats to match'. The game was refereed by John Lewis, but even one of the founders of the Blackburn Rovers club was at a loss as to what to do, when one of the young ladies was 'winded'.**(80)**

The team found a fine 'manager' in Alfred Frankland, who rather resembled James Taylor in appearance, except that Frankland wore a bow tie rather than a high winged collar. With the team's success, he began to assemble a team of female 'Invincibles', or perhaps 'Amazons' would be a more appropriate sobriquet. This was good business to the Deepdale board, who were desperate for any income at this time. In August 1918 they agreed to allow use of the ground for £12 a Saturday game, for at least 10 matches, to allow training on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays at £1 a day and to allow a Christmas day game for £20. Once post-war football restarted of course, the board lost its earlier enthusiasm.**(81)** Like the old North End, the side began to absorb the best players from rival towns, notably from Lancaster and Bolton. Matches began to attract very large crowds, and players of real talent began to emerge, notably Alice Kell and Florrie Redford. In Lily Parr (1905-78) Dick,Kerr Ladies had a goal scorer to rival the great Tommy Roberts himself. A six footer, fond of a smoke, she hit 43 goals in her first season, and when challenged by a professional player that she could not score a penalty against him, smashed his arm with her shot.

Ladies' football participated in the great post-war leisure boom, and Dick,Kerr's began a long tradition of international games when they defeated a French team 2-0 at Deepdale in front of a 25,000 crowd. In October 1920, the return matches were played in France, with more than 20,000 seeing the 1-1 draw in Paris, amid cries of 'Good Old Dick,Kerrs', and 'Play up Proud Preston'. The team was anxious to hear how North End had gone on, but were disappointed to discover that in the absence of Woodhouse the club had managed only a goalless draw at home to Manchester United. One of their main intentions during their trip was to place a wreath on the grave of Eddie Latheron, the Blackburn Rovers inside right, killed at Passchendaele. December 1920 saw a night match at Deepdale against 'The Rest of England', reminiscent of the previous attempt at floodlighting in the 1870's. Anti-Zeppelin floodlights were stationed at either end of the ground, 12,000 attended, and Bob Holmes was kept busy whitewashing the ball. The light operator at the Fulwood end became overly enthusiastic and began to try to follow the play with his beam, blinding the players, who were also startled by the flashguns of the press. One of the lights eventually failed, and 'one small player', became lost in the dark. The peak of the women's game came in 1921, when Dick,Kerr's defeated 'The Rest of Britain' 9-1 at Anfield, raising £1,500 in the process.**(82)**

The very success of the women's football brought about its downfall, when a perhaps jealous FA resolved that 'The game of football is quite unsuitable for females, and ought not to be encouraged'.**(83)** The Preston side had raised over £50,000 for needy charities, and had shown that football had much to offer as a female spectator sport. Indeed, in 14-year-old Lily Parr the team had a prospect to rival Alec James. It was said of her that, 'There is probably no greater football prodigy in the whole country'.**(84)** The side toured Canada, and in 1926 changed its name to 'Preston Ladies' and continued to play successfully, styling themselves 'Champions of the World'. In September 1937 the issue was clarified when Edinburgh Ladies were beaten 5-1 at Squires Gate, for the 'Championship of Great Britain and the World'. At the celebratory dinner at Booth's Cafe, it was claimed that the side had raised £100,000 for charity.**(85)** Their playing record up to that time was:

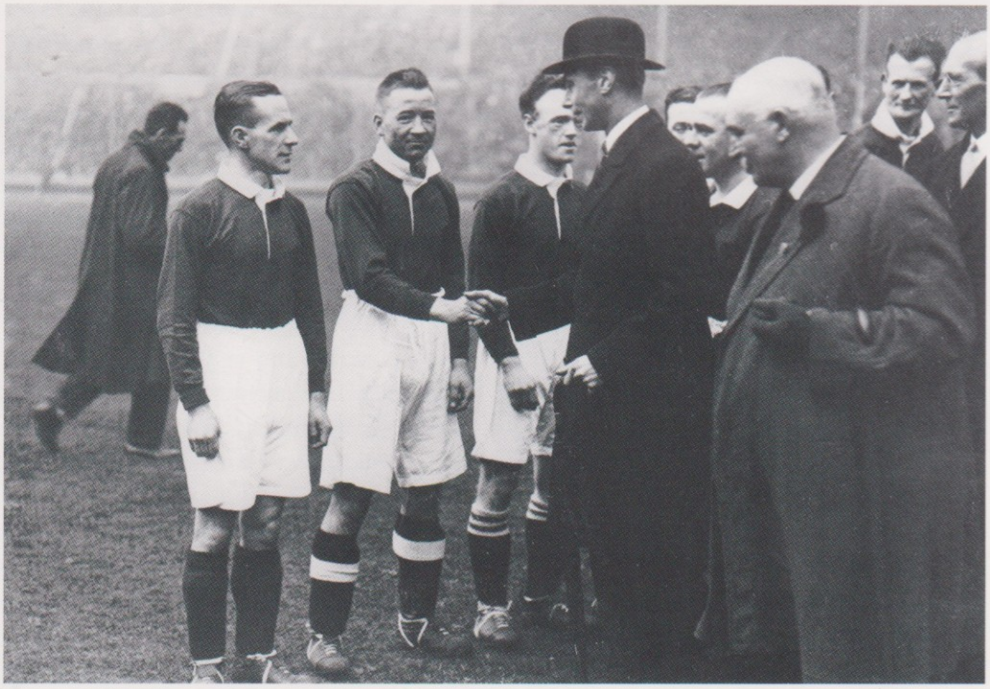
Played 437. Won 424. Lost 7. Drawn 6.
Goals for 2863. Goals against 207.

Thus, neither William Sudell nor James Taylor could match Alfred Frankland's record, and it is interesting to speculate as to how the women's game might have developed if the FA had not moved to stifle it. Similarly, although Deepdale can claim to have been the home of one of the most advanced legions in women's sport, and Britain was to have both a female Head of State and Prime Minister later in the century, no woman has yet held office in the boardroom at Deepdale.

chapter 6

alec james and the roaring TWENTIES

The war years had seen a rapid development of the Preston district's economy, with the growth of Dick,Kerr, English Electric and Leyland Motors. These new industries would be at the forefront of the town's recovery from the great depression of the 1930's. The cotton industry remained the largest employer, and had enjoyed a remarkable boom during the war.



Alec James presented to the Duke of York before the England-Scotland International: on 31 March 1928.

In perhaps the greatest performance by a Preston player, James masterminded the destruction of the English 5-1. After previous team versus country disputes with the board, the Wembley Wizard cheekily presented this picture to the directors. Their initial responses had to be torn from the records, one of only two occasions when the writer found this to have occurred in almost a century. The above is a copy of the actual picture he presented which now has pride of place in the Preston North End gallery of the National Football Museum.

Enormous profits were made as manufacturers pushed up the price of their goods in the general inflation. For example, the profit on 'piece goods' rose from about 5d per piece in 1912, to 4s in 1917, and 5s by 1919. As normal conditions returned in 1919 an enormous demand for Lancashire goods produced a further boom. In 1920, some 150 companies declared dividends of 40% or over.**(1)** A scramble for cotton mill shares developed, and since new mills could not readily be built, existing firms were taken over or amalgamated. One of the largest of these was the Amalgamated Cotton Mills Trust, established in October 1918. It was headed by the Preston firm of Horrockses, Crewdson & Co, of which North End's future chairman Meyrick Hollins was a director. In 1922, his vice-president, Harold Parker, was managing director of William Calvert & Sons of Walton-le-Dale, 'One of the best known cotton manufacturers in the world so far as the Eastern Trade is concerned'.**(2)** The interests of most of the club's supporters, its principal directors, and most important of all, its bankers, the Lancashire & Yorkshire Bank, were thus closely tied to those of the cotton trade.

North End's swinging fortunes between the wars can be understood only in the context of this local trade cycle. Critical decisions to invest or to retrench were made in this broader economic and to some extent psychological context. The expansionist plans of the early 1920's, with their new buildings and share issues, were a natural extension into professional sport of the latest 'good practice' in industry. By the end of the summer of 1920, the boom was over and the industry fell into a steep depression in 1921. In January 1922, the Lancashire Daily Post spoke of 'Black Days in Mill Land: Worst depression ever experienced'. A few weeks later almost 7,000 men and more than 3,500 women were unemployed in the town.**(3)**

The North End directors reacted in a familiar way, by cutting back on investment until the club's debts had been sufficiently reduced in 1926. It was hoped that the depression would pass, as such events had always done before, but the boom of the previous 20 years had only served to obscure a fundamental shift in the world-wide pattern of trade. Other countries could now produce their own goods and had begun to compete in British markets. The long death of the Preston cotton industry now began; five mills closed from 1920-26, six from 1926-32, and nine from 1932-6. Most spectacular of all was the failure of William Calvert & Co in 1931. In the late 1920's, the Wall Street Crash plunged the whole world into a great depression. In Preston the recovery of both the town's economy and its football club were again closely related, as increased incomes fed a boom in the leisure sector. Both town and club were enjoying a marked revival by the eve of the Second World War.**(4)**

OLD PROBLEMS IN THE BRAVE NEW WORLD

During a presentation of medals in a thronged market square on 11 November 1918, the Mayor of Preston, Harry Cartmell, announced that the war had ended. The affair was managed with some theatre, and his speech, 'Glorious news has arrived. The Kaiser has disappeared for ever. The worst enemy mankind has known has gone from the stage', was punctuated by the Town Hall clock striking 11am - the actual hour that hostilities ceased. In contrast to the pro-war hysteria of 1914, the armistice was greeted profoundly, as minds turned to hopes for a peace which had been narrowly won at such a terrible cost.**(5)** Within less than a fortnight, and despite his war service duties, 'Perseus' had set the agenda for the debate on North End's post war future. He described the practical affects of the war: **The bank overdraft has increased by annual losses; the repairs to and renewal of the ground fittings have been at a standstill, so that a considerable sum will be needed to meet the cost before Deepdale can again be the well cared for enclosure it was.(6)** Of the old players, Barbour and Ford had been killed, and Osborn, Edmondson and Henderson had been wounded. A considerable sum would be needed to acquire new men, and since all clubs would be in the same market they would not be acquired cheaply.

Yet a return to the pre-war conditions at Deepdale would not suffice, a distinct improvement and modernisation of North End football must be achieved: **Everything will depend upon the securing of two first class inside wing men, men capable of controlling and placing the ball, in order to make openings for others, as well as seize upon them themselves, skilled craftsmen of a different type to that which hitherto has been relied upon.** Much depended on the directors, who would have to act 'quickly, energetically and unitedly' to invest in the future. Most importantly of all, 'Old ideas that have not answered must be scrapped, and if men won't get on they must get out. North End will either prosper or fall by the manner in which it returns to the highest class'. After a 5-0 defeat at Stoke a fortnight later, he returned to the theme. Had the club been a commercial concern: **Old and archaic ideas would have been scrapped and new methods introduced ...I am looking forward to a completely new spirit informing North End football when the club takes its place in the First Division again next September.(7)** The final edition of the Lancashire Daily Post for 1918 contained a large advertisement for Dr. Williams's Pink Pills 'For Pale People', with the motto 'You must have steady nerves'. They would indeed be needed at Deepdale in the inter-war years.

By the first post-war Christmas, the players were making their way back to Deepdale, where the old clan was reported to be gathering. In the new year the directors appeared to have shifted in their traditional opposition to a team manager and were reported to be trying to secure the services of a well known and experienced man. 'Perseus' believed that the new post 'will be a position of real responsibility and control, and not the kind of semi-detached, powerless office that made appointments of previous so-called team managers more or less farcical from the start'. To avoid the pre-war cycle of relegation and promotion, a bold policy was needed, for 'a business-like outlay brings in the money. Rigid economy and a fear to-launch-away attitude are useless today'; the directors should only retain financial control.**(8)** Such an appointment would have marked a historic shift in the management of the club, had it occurred. In fact the series of inter-war 'managers' found their authority severely prescribed, all left after a few seasons, and

Yours Sincerely

Will Scott, 1938.

Scott joined North End in 1923, and only left the club finally in 1953. A quiet man, he endured decades of director interference, before finally emerging in 1949 as manager in his own right. His career would see the club reach two Cup Finals, secure the double of the War Cup and the Northern League, win promotion twice and in his final season miss the Championship only on goal average. James Taylor's lieutenant and wartime spy, he was unquestionably one of the greatest North Enders. In retirement he named his home in his native north-east 'Deepdale'. (National Football Museum) it was the long serving (and long suffering) trainer Will Scott who achieved the greatest success as the representative of the directors' team committee. Jack Bell had been the club's first 'manager-coach' in 1909, but he had enjoyed little freedom in the post, and his inter-war successors fared no better (Vincent Hayes 1919-23, James Lawrence 1923-25, Frank Richards 1925-27, Alex Gibson 1927-31, Lincoln Hyde 1931-2, Tommy Muirhead 1936-7). Up to the middle of the twentieth century, therefore, the club retained the Victorian management structure of William Sudell.

Vincent Hayes was appointed secretary-manager in March 1919, to develop the 'wider and more enterprising policy decided on by the board'. A defender, he had played in the Manchester United Cup winning side of 1909, and remarkably for the time, had experience of coaching in Europe. He had been in charge of the Norwegian side at the Stockholm Olympics, and from 1912 to the outbreak of the war had coached the Austrian side. He also received a medal from the King of Spain for his work with the youth of Madrid. During the war the 40-year-old had returned to his original trade in the shipyards. At Deepdale he quickly found his area of action circumscribed by the directors, who continued to run the team and sign players as before. Notwithstanding his wide experience, they also dictated the team's tactics on the field. 'Perseus' soon became disillusioned, and by May 1919 was beginning to question just how much power Hayes had. Initially he combined the role of 'manager' with that of club or company secretary. The latter duties took up much of his time, and he was responsible for selling and issuing shares. Only after 1922 were these tasks taken from him, leaving him free to concentrate on working with the players.**(9)**

Team building continued through the summer of 1919. Important signings included Tommy Roberts as centre forward, Jefferis, Miller, and Roland Woodhouse of Leyland. North End's second largest gate with receipts of £423 at the Blackburn Rovers game on Good Friday 1919, gave an inkling of the remarkable increase in match attendances that was to be such a feature of post-war football. Clubs faced a boom, but as William Ord pointed out at the AGM of 1919, wages had increased, and an entertainment tax of 25 per cent was in force. Accordingly admittance to the 'popular side' was to be doubled to one shilling. Optimism was running high. One of the new directors, Mr. W. H. Bertwistle, was greeted with 'loud applause' when he urged the club to become, 'a second Blackburn Rovers or something like that'.**(10)**

Hayes's secretarial work led to a disastrously poorly prepared start to the 1919-20 season. North End's post-war football began with a 4-0 defeat at Ewood, followed by a thrashing at home by Bradford City, who scored four goals in 22 minutes after North End had led 1-0. Despite the excellent form of Woodhouse, the Lancashire Daily Post could proclaim by late September; 'Same Old Ghost: North End heading for Second Division'. The appointment of Hayes had not worked out as hoped, players of quality had not been signed, and the long sought progressive policy had not been developed. Joe McCall was unsettled, and for a week in December was actually on the transfer list. Other teams had their troubles however, and the low standard of football kept North End in touch with the means of escape. Form picked up in April when Jefferis returned from injury, so that with one game left to play, Derby County, Nottingham Forest and North End had 36 points, ahead of Blackburn Rovers with 35. Sheffield Wednesday were already relegated. Of the three Preston had the inferior goal average.**(11)**

On May Day 1920 all seemed lost at Goodison Park when Everton were awarded a penalty. It was missed and North End managed to score one of the critical goals in their history: **McCall started the movement and Jefferis helped to embroider it before Roberts, taking up position well, took a return pass from the old Evertonian promptly whilst on the half turn, and left Fern and everyone else bewildered, by the accuracy of his right foot shot from nearly thirty yards range.** The team had been re-formed and had at least managed to stay up. On this achievement, and the signings of Rawlins and Hamilton (for a club record fee of £4,600) were to be based the great Cup runs of the following seasons; 'When the final whistle went the Preston spectators cheered lustily and the players gave evidence of their delight'. Blackburn had also won!(12)

THE NEW MEN

The crisis had galvanised the Shareholders' Association back into life. In March, one of Brierley's assistants, 'Ajax', had urged the shareholders only to appoint directors with 'a practical knowledge' of the game. The new management had not improved the situation, and the players were still not being trained and supervised properly. If the board was to run the club, directors who knew something about the game were needed. The paper concluded by urging the revival of the association and the development of a progressive policy. As much of central Europe seethed on the verge of revolution, the first meeting was held in April at the Working Men's Conservative Club. Chaired by Harold Parker a large attendance discussed what was to be done. Though a section wanted nothing less than the wholesale removal of the board, the meeting eventually decided to elect a single representative onto it.(13) To 'Perseus', who was now advocating far reaching changes, the meeting was 'a damp squib' and little more than a vote of confidence in the board.(14)

At the 1920 AGM Walter Pomfret retired, following R. P. Woodhouse who had been voted off the board in 1919. The chairman William Ord stayed on for one more year, but the old order was clearly changing. The Shareholders' Association ran two candidates, A. M. Hollins and E. Herling, both of whom were elected. 'Perseus' welcomed this 'free access' of 'light and air', of 'freshness and vigour' to the board.(15) A record attendance sat through ninety minutes of 'slashing criticism' of the executive, which Ord tried to counter. The former players, it was argued, were not as good as they had been before the war, and £8,400 had been spent on new players. The debt on the West stand was paid off, and only a cement shortage had prevented further work on the terracing. When Hayes refused to answer questions about the players, shareholders homed in on the ridiculous position he had been put into. The chairman conceded that for the coming season the roles of 'manager' and secretary were to be divided 'more definitely than before', so that the 'manager' would now be able to spend most of his time at the ground. Another favourite scheme of the association members also found approval, and the

James Isherwood Taylor, 1938.

At times one of the most controversial characters in the game, Jim Taylor advocated a Progressive Policy based on free spending, and was the architect of North End's mid-twentieth century greatness. Bill Shankly claimed to have based his public persona on him. After his death the central purpose of his life was said to have been 'the greatness, pride and prestige of North End'. Dubbed by his critics the 'Joseph Stalin of English Football', and 'The Great Dictator' of Deepdale, he would survive all his European rivals. They of course lacked the good services of Will Scott! (National Football Museum) nursery side was to be revived. The most active member of the board, Jim Taylor, polled the same number of votes as the chairman and was elected vice-chairman. As a member of the inner circle, he could now anticipate succeeding Ord as chairman. Events were to turn out rather differently, and the ultimate prize was not to be his until 1938.**(16)**

The formally constituted Shareholders' Association ran three more candidates in the directors' election of 1921; Joseph Foster, Harold Parker and Tom Croft, an existing director. The former two were glowingly supported by 'Perseus' in the Lancashire Daily Post: **Both are old players, brother full backs in the piping days of Preston amateurism, experienced and successful men in the cotton world, and admirably qualified in every sense for the positions they seek.(17)** All three men were elected, so that in two years the Shareholders' Association had placed four new men onto the eight-man board, Meyrick Hollins, Edward Herling, Joseph Foster and Harold Parker. At the 1921 AGM William Ord retired as chairman, and his place was taken by Meyrick Hollins.**(18)** When James Taylor, the most conspicuous and controversial member of the old board, resigned a few days later, Harold Parker took his post of vice-chairman. Taylor was not replaced immediately so that the newcomers had a 3-4 majority on the board. The revolution was complete, and the Shareholders' Association had won power at Deepdale, whose affairs were now under the control of the town's two leading cotton men. Perversely, this left the financial policy makers at the club open to the influence of the wider fluctuations of the cotton industry. The local cotton trade had entered a steep decline by 1922, so that in the years ahead 'King Cotton' himself was to play a subtle hand in North End's affairs.

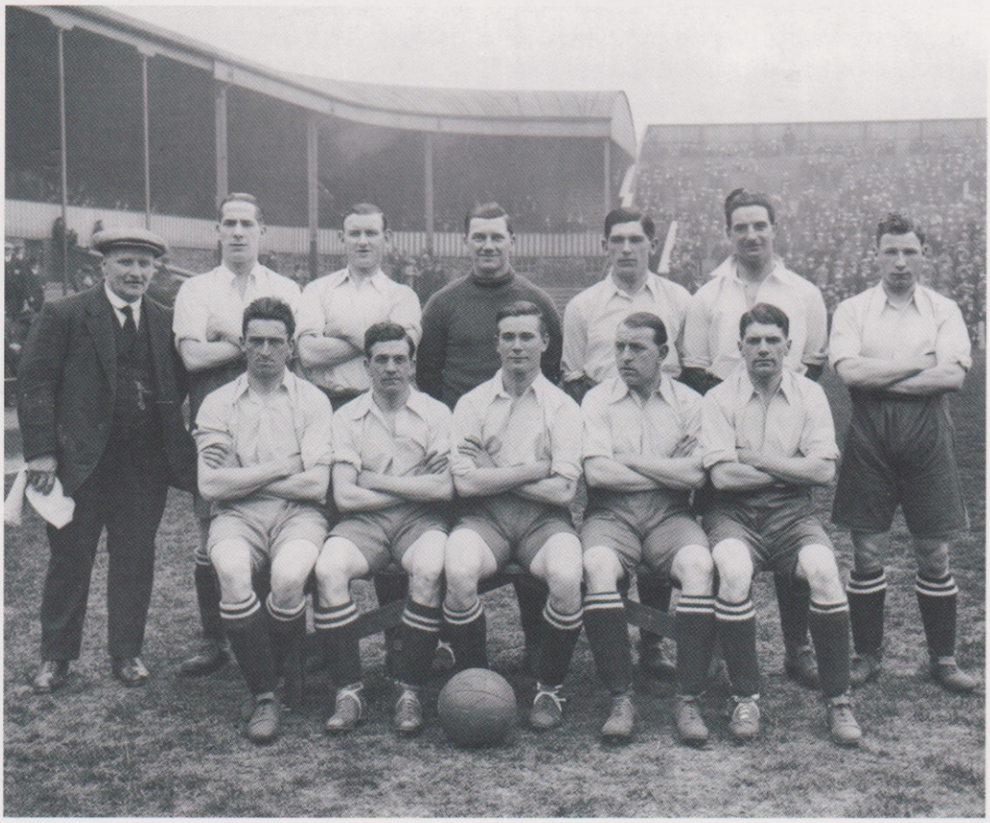
The precise cause of Taylor's resignation is not clear, but 'a difference with the Shareholders' Association on policy' is usually cited. The club had a record balance in hand of over £5,700, from the continued football boom and the 1921 Cup run, and had decided to embark on extensive ground improvements. This was the board's usual response to cash in hand, and made good financial sense. Mr. R. E. Smalley, a former player and director, voiced a widely-held fear: **He should be glad to have a tip up seat on the stand at Deepdale, but he should be prepared to put up with the present accommodation if they could get better football.** Taylor was adamant that ground investment would not detract from the ongoing team building. He spoke at some length at the AGM about his plans, and clearly felt that the club had only a nucleus of the side he wished to create. Ground improvements 'would be treated separately and distinctly, and it would not interfere in the slightest degree with their effort to secure a first-class eleven'. On a personal level he must have long envisaged succeeding Ord as chairman, and his own vast experience stood in marked contrast to that of the cotton men 'amateurs'.**(19)**

The annual meeting took place on 20 June 1921. A week later the board deputed 'Messrs Taylor, Hollins and Parker to negotiate our overdraft at the bank'.**(20)** On July 5th Taylor resigned from the board. His resignation was the second over club policy in a week, but James Milne had been persuaded to return to the board. Almost certainly the cautious industrialists were not prepared to finance large-scale investment in both new players and a modernised ground. 'Perseus' while hoping for a more open conduct of the club's internal politics, noted Taylor's high-handed ways: **He may be said to have lived for North End football in recent times, and to have shouldered the great weight of its organisation and administration. Like most men who do things, he has strong ideas on what should be done and what should not, and like most men he finds that these do not always square with other peoples'.(21)** The outcome was that the club would follow a cautious policy. 'Perseus' regretted this split and the loss of his experience, but Taylor failed to be re-elected in 1922 and was to remain out of the centre of affairs until the relegation crisis of 1925.

Having secured influence for its leading members, the Shareholders' Association now gave its full support to the board, and assisted in the sale of new shares to pay for the improvements. At their second annual meeting in 1922, the committee was proud to have been asked to meet the directors, and duly supported the return of all the directors up for re-election. Although members ran the club's junior sides, and gladly assisted in all the ways allowed to them, control of the club was firmly back in the hands of the new regime, and the greatest threat to the authority of the club's executive had passed. The shareholders could do what they did best - buy shares in the club, and leave the fraught questions of management to the directors. Indeed, in their first season the board came within a refereeing error of bringing the FA Cup back to Deepdale.[22]

THE NEW DEEPDALE: SPION KOP

During the 1921 Cup run, it became apparent that Deepdale could no longer cope with the size of post-war crowds, and by June of that year allotments and land at the north end of the ground had been acquired from the Lutwidge Estate Company, and the works were underway. The scheme, designed by local architect Arnold Ellison, envisaged the development of the whole of the north, or Fulwood end, of the ground. The West stand was to be extended northwards to culminate in a quarter-circle extending behind the goal line, and offices and a directors' room were to be built



PRESTON NORTH END FC, MAY 1923.

BACK ROW (L-R): J. BARTON (TRAINER), GILCHRIST, HAMILTON, BRANSTON, YATES, MARSHALL, CRAWFORD.

FRONT ROW: RAWLINGS, WOODHOUSE, ROBERTS, LAIRD, QUANTRILL.

THE BACKGROUND SHOWS THE EXTENSION TO THE WEST STAND, AND THE NEWLY OPENED SPION KOP. BOBBY CRAWFORD WOULD GO ON TO MAKE ALMOST 400 APPEARANCES FOR NORTH END, BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FOR BLACKPOOL IN 1932.

within the central portion. The embankment behind the goal was to be taken down and the retaining wall moved 38 feet back, to support a steel structure to carry the terracing higher. It was hoped to have increased the capacity of the ground by 10,000 for the start of the new season.**(23)** The scheme was to cost about £15,000 and was to be funded in part by the creation of a further 10,000 £1 shares. Although the Shareholders' Association thought it their 'moral duty' to support the scheme, the general public was not so forthcoming, believing the directors to be 'too adventurous in times like these'. In the event the works were to cost almost £20,000.**(24)**

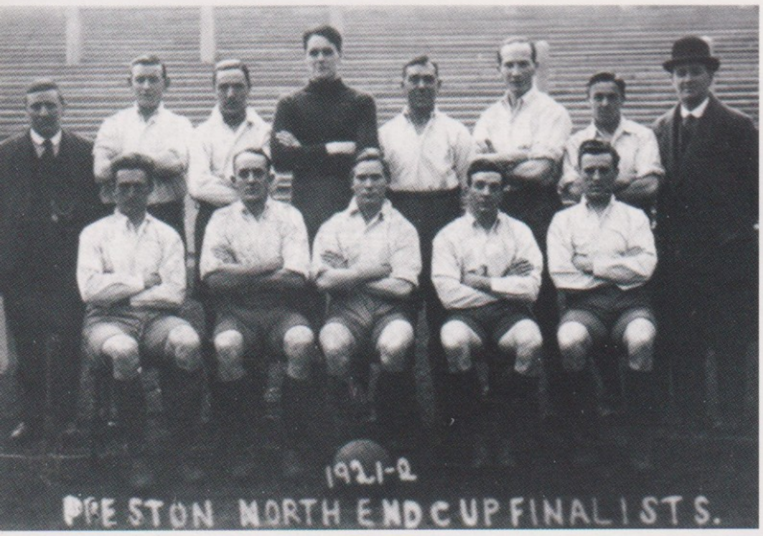
A 'Post' reporter visited the works in mid-July, and found the scale and progress of the undertaking impressive. A massive red brick wall some 18 feet high had been erected, and turf had been laid to move the playing surface 'about three yards' further north, and so remove the old danger of players running into the perimeter wall, and reduce congestion at the Town End. When complete the stone terracing with the supported wooden terracing above, was to sweep some 75 steps, "from top to bottom of this 'Spion Kop' as it has already been termed". Fears were raised as to the safety of the flimsy looking steel work which was to support the upper tier of the Kop, but 'Mr. Croft said careful calculations had been carried out, and the stand had been constructed as strong again as was necessary for its full holding capacity'. The great structure was to sweep round to the east side, reducing congestion at the north-east corner of the ground: **Everyone at all acquainted with Deepdale on big match days can visualise the dangerous, if picturesque, swaying of the tightly packed spectators in that narrow angle near the corner flag.(25)**

The most novel part of the plan was to run two tunnels through the embankment at ground level from the entrances to the foot of the terracing. This would allow the ground to be emptied quickly, avoiding the lengthy queues of old. At this time the 'tunnels' could be clearly seen, and the earth embankment had not been heaped over them. It was hoped that the capacity might rise to 50,000, 'marking the beginning of a new era of professional football at Preston'. Much of the scheme was completed for the new season, and the extra capacity proved very timely for the 1922 Cup run.

THE GREAT CUP FINAL CONTROVERSY OF 1922

North End's run in the First Division continued for six seasons. During this period their highest position was a miserable 16th, a feat they managed in three consecutive seasons 1920-3. The club had made no impact at all on any of the FA Cup competitions since 1893, but now their efforts met with great success. In 1921 the campaign saw them reach the Semi-finals, with the defeat of Bolton Wanderers, Watford, Luton Town, and Hull City. Roberts scored in each of the first three rounds, with hat-tricks against Watford and Luton. When the game against Hull was replayed at Deepdale, the crowd congestion again revealed Deepdale's unsuitability in the new age of raised attendances. In the Semi-final at Hillsborough, North End were drawn to play Tottenham Hotspur. Two trains of 'excursionists' set out, and many who went by 'motor vehicle' were seen passing through Manchester at 9am. The Cup had developed into an enormously popular festival. Lancastrians, and it was hoped many Yorkshire people, were firmly behind the Preston club. Each Cup run developed its own characters: **The appearance of the Southport newsvender who, following his custom of North End's previous ties, had walked to the scene of the match, created a spice of interest among the crowd that quickly tumbled to the opportunity of pelting him with coppers and oranges, one of which, well aimed, knocked the carefully garnered harvest out of his arms.(26)** Two second half goals, and an own goal in reply won the game for the Spurs who went on to beat Wolverhampton Wanderers 1-0 in the Final.

The following year league form was allowed to lapse in an all-out effort to win the trophy in Preston Guild year. The previous year's beaten Finalists were disposed of 3-0, in a game dominated by 'McCall's genius', and Newcastle United were beaten 3-1 in the second round. Both games were played at Deepdale, and the recent ground improvements enabled the crowds of 27,000 and 32,000 to be accommodated. Before the third round the team prepared at Cleveleys Hydro, where the Blackburn Rovers team were also staying. The players 'chummed up', formed a Blackburn North End minstrel troupe and were reported to be hoping for a mutual Cup Final, 'the receipts to be divided up between the players'.**(27)** It required two games to see off Barnsley in the third round, and the fourth brought a drawn tie at the Arsenal, which attracted a gate of 37,517, and receipts of £3,350. The replay at Deepdale attracted another 30,000 crowd, and went into extra time, before Roberts headed home a Rawlings corner for North End to win the game 2-1.**(28)**


1921-2
PRESTON NORTH END CUP FINALISTS.

The 1922 Cup Final side.
Back Row (l-r): T. Hamilton, T. Duxbury, J. F. Mitchell, J. McCall (captain), A. Doolan, J. Williamson. Front Row: A. Rawlings, F. Jefferis, W. T. Roberts, R. T. Woodhouse, P. Quinn.
One of Preston's greatest sides, cruelly robbed of victory by a referee's blunder. (National Football Museum)

The Semi-final was to be a replay of that of 1921, against Tottenham at Hillsborough. Goals from Rawlings and Roberts saw North End through 2-1, taking their tallies in the competition to three and seven respectively. After a gap of 33 years North End were again to appear in a Cup Final. Over 50,000 people had seen the game, paying almost £5000. North End's share was £1,000, and everyone was pleased for Joe McCall who might now obtain a Cup winner's medal. There were great scenes when the North End train reached Preston:

> **It was a very happy crowd that returned to Preston, by the two special trains that were run, and there was a sense of considerable enthusiasm at the station, where those who had not been privileged to see the game but had read about it in the specially telephoned accounts which were published in Preston, complete, within ten minutes of the finish, joined the excited travellers, who insisted on 'chairing' both McCall and Roberts, much to their embarrassment.(29)**

With the collapse of the post-war cotton boom, and the town suffering the fourth highest level of male unemployment in Lancashire, the scramble began for Cup Final tickets. Each club had just 500 stand seats for Stamford Bridge, but it was hoped that the problem would be solved the following year, 'when Wembley Park is finished'. Both teams trained on the Fylde coast, (North End at Cleveleys and Huddersfield Town at Bloomfield Road), and shared the same train to London. As the train left Preston, 'Black Cat mascots' were much in evidence, and the North End team, already festooned with lucky heather sprigs, carried one dressed in blue and white. Joe McCall was presented with a home-made FA Cup painted blue and white and adorned with Union Jacks. Eighty special trains were expected at the Final, 25 of them from Preston and Huddersfield. Some 3,000 people travelled from Preston, including large numbers of women and children on sightseeing tours. Indeed, a number of observers remarked on the number of ladies making the trip. Before the kick-off both teams and their supporters gathered to lay wreaths at the Cenotaph.**(30)**

In the ground the players were cheered as they showed their wives to their seats. Both clubs favoured blue and white, and the supporters could only be differentiated by their accents. Although

Herbert Chapman's Huddersfield were one of the great sides of all time, and were to be league champions in 1924-5-6-7, Preston's hopes were high. A familiar problem emerged however, their goalkeeper Branston was Cup-tied, and his place was taken by an amateur, Mitchell - a footballer who played in glasses. In a very poor game with much of the ball 'in the air', the great controversy came when Hamilton deliberately tripped Huddersfield's Billy Smith as he raced for the penalty box. Smith ended up in the box, but the foul had clearly taken place outside it. Incredibly the referee claimed that Smith had been tripped twice, once four feet outside the area, and then six inches inside it. Joe McCall was very upset: **It happened a yard outside the penalty area, and I told the referee so, at the same time pointing out that Hamilton had stood stock still in the very spot where he brought Smith down. Mr.Fowler replied 'It was six inches inside', and I said, 'You were half-way in the middle of the field.** When Preston players ran across to ask the linesman, he tactfully replied, 'The referee has given a penalty'.**(31)**

Some observers thought that the foul was worth a penalty, but the majority of papers backed McCall. John Crocket of the Daily Mail, maintained, 'Smith was brought down at least two yards outside the penalty area, and he rolled into the fatal area'. The Morning Post blamed the referee 'for a bad error of judgement', and 'Tityrus' of the Athletic News added that Smith 'Rolled a yard or two just to make sure'. The Daily News had recourse to

THE 1922 CUP FINAL.

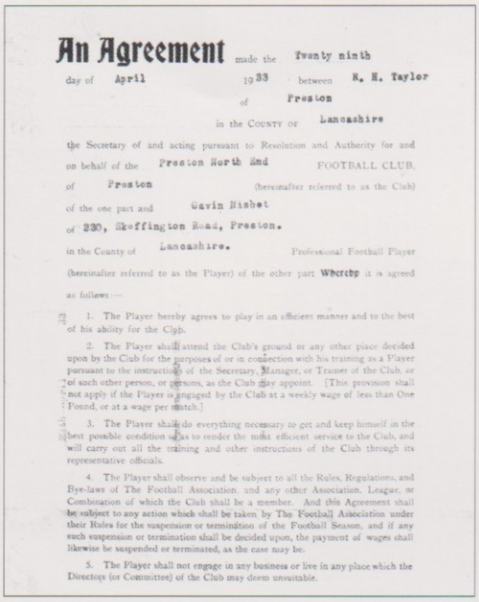
JOE MCCALL SHAKES HANDS WITH THE DUKE OF YORK (SUBSEQUENTLY GEORGE VI) BEFORE THE LAST PRE-WEMBLEY CUP FINAL. THE CUP FINAL GREW TO GENUINELY NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE AFTER THE WAR, AND BOTH TEAMS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS HAD LAID WREATHS AT THE CENOTAPH. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM) science, and examined the film of the incident made by the Kinematrograph Topical Film Company. The stills revealed the white penalty line distinctly between the goal and the players. Facing the penalty, Mitchell jumped around his goal-mouth trying to put Smith off. North End lost 1-0, and the rule restricting goalkeepers' movements during penalties was subsequently introduced. Six surviving members of the 'Invincibles' team attended the post-match dinner, to hear a moving speech by McCall: **I am sorry to say the Invincibles have been watching us - they must have been crying at the exhibition we gave ...Still we played as well as we were allowed. I can only say that we were very much upset, especially myself, as I have never got an English Cup medal. I could have cried when I went up the steps to play second fiddle. Still, we must be good losers as well as good winners.** Johnny Goodall replied for the 'Invincibles', 'He hoped another year would bring the Cup to Preston, and he was sure it would come eventually'. The Mayor then proposed the toast, 'Huddersfield Town'.(32)

'Perseus' was somewhat upset: 'Dire Consequences of a referee's blunder. An outrage to Justice'. He had seen the tracks of Smith's 'dragging feet' running into the box. To make matters even worse, Fowler had stopped play in the first half, for an injured North Ender, with Roberts through on goal. A huge crowd which had blocked Fishergate, to receive the reports at the Daily Post office, had gone wild when Woodhouse was thought to have scored after 20 minutes. Great crowds thronged the town for the team's return, and 250 guests attended the dinner at the Public Hall. In the presence of the Guild Mayor and the chairman of Blackburn Rovers, Meyrick Hollins praised the North Enders, as 'Good servants and sportsmen', and read out a telegram he had just received, 'SEND JOE BACK TO KIRKHAM. STOP. MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WAITING IN THE RAIN'. Amidst great cheering McCall rose to respond, concluding, 'We have our eyes on the new ground at Wembley... (prolonged cheers)'.(33)

FALLING INTO DEBT: THE MAXIMUM WAGE SAFETY NET

The extensive programme of ground improvements at last provided a stadium able to hold the large attendances necessary to sustain a successful side, but in the short term they were to prove a disaster. The share launch was not a success, and though the theoretical capital of the firm was increased from £5,000 to £15,000, the subscribed (or paid-up) capital increased only from £4,249 to £7,260. Put simply, just £3,011 of the cost of £19,551-3s-11d had been recouped. The shortfall was made up by the profit of £5,700 from 1920-21, and by a bank loan of £11,500.(34) This was the first really large debt the club had ever taken on, and was to remain a worrying feature of the club's balance sheet well into the 1930's. So long as the high gates held up, of course, this was not a problem, but they fell substantially in 1923-4 to around 16,000 for home games, a level they broadly maintained through the twenties. Income fell closely in line with gates to a figure of around £20,000 a season. Great efforts were made to restrict costs, and expensive forays into the transfer market apart, the club could generally show a profit throughout these years. With fixed overheads, a good Cup run could generate significant extra income, but the club's profits from the competition were not as great as might have been expected. The run to the Final in 1922 produced an extra £8,445-2s-0d of which the club received just £2,870-17s-1d!, since more than £5,500 was deducted for tax, payments to visiting clubs and the FA's share. North End made virtually no further impact on the competition until the 1930's, but the chance of a 'big tie' was always a possibility. Important changes of staff were always put off until the Cup run was over.

North End, like professional football itself at this time, would not have survived in its existing form without the contribution of the players - through the maximum wage which kept their wages artificially low, and the transfer fees raised when they were sold on from club to club. Once more normal conditions had resumed at Deepdale in 1923-4 the



An Agreement made the Twenty ninth day of April 1933 between H. N. Taylor of Preston in the County of Lancashire

the Secretary of and acting pursuant to Resolution and Authority for and on behalf of the Preston North End FOOTBALL CLUB, of Preston (hereinafter referred to as the Club) of the one part and Gavin Nisbet of 230, Skeffington Road, Preston. in the County of Lancashire. Professional Football Player (hereinafter referred to as the Player) of the other part **Whereby** it is agreed as follows:—

1. The Player hereby agrees to play in an efficient manner and to the best of his ability for the Club.

2. The Player shall attend the Club's ground or any other place decided upon by the Club for the purposes of or in connection with his training as a Player pursuant to the instructions of the Secretary, Manager, or Trainer of the Club, or of such other person, or persons, as the Club may appoint. [This provision shall not apply if the Player is engaged by the Club at a weekly wage of less than One Pound, or at a wage per match.]

3. The Player shall do everything necessary to get and keep himself in the best possible condition so as to render the most efficient service to the Club, and will carry out all the training and other instructions of the Club through its representative officials.

4. The Player shall observe and be subject to all the Rules, Regulations, and Bye-laws of The Football Association, and any other Association, League, or Combination of which the Club shall be a member. And this Agreement shall be subject to any action which shall be taken by The Football Association under their Rules for the suspension or termination of the Football Season, and if any such suspension or termination shall be decided upon, the payment of wages shall likewise be suspended or terminated, as the case may be.

5. The Player shall not engage in any business or live in any place which the Directors (or Committee) of the Club may deem unsuitable.

A PLAYER'S CONTRACT.

SIGNED ANNUALLY, CONTRACTS TIED THE INDIVIDUAL PLAYER TO HIS CLUB. WHEN THE CONTRACT EXPIRED THE PLAYER COULD ONLY MOVE ON WITH THE CLUB'S CONSENT, AND VIRTUALLY ALL OF ANY RESULTING TRANSFER FEE WENT TO THE SELLING CLUB. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

wage bill fell to around £11,000 a season, a figure at which it remained fixed until the later 1920's when it began to fall. Since it was fairly fixed, and varied little even when the club was relegated, or enjoyed a Cup run, it is clear that the team's success could generate very significant returns for the company, as in fact happened in the late 1930's. By 1931-32 for example, clubs retained a larger proportion of their receipts from the Cup, and a short run raised £4,153, and paid for the signing of Harper and Rowley from Tottenham. The players were clearly an under valued resource. Preston's wage bill peaked in 1922, with a scale of payments as follows, twelve men received £8 per week, three £7, four £6, six £5, and single men £4, £4-10s, and £2-10s. A weekly wage bill of £187. The week of their Cup Final appearance the players thus received only their flat rate, since there was no winning bonus to collect.(35) In March 1926, Alec James, a player who single handedly could put 5,000 onto a gate, was earning £8-8s-6d. Clearly this was good money in comparison to wages in industry at the time, but it was a poor return on the player's actual contribution to the club, and critically left little in hand once his career was over. After a player had served a number of years, he might be granted a 'benefit', and this became an important element of players' career earnings, as well as a constant source of dispute between them and the club.

Since wages were standardised, the main financial element in acquiring new players was their transfer fee. A number of clubs had modern nursery schemes to bring youngsters through the ranks, and even before the First World War North Enders were constantly bemoaning Burnley's success in this respect. Blackpool developed a penchant for players from the Southern League, and North End of course looked to Scotland. An extensive network of 'watchers' and former players had long existed here. They generally got things right. Alf Quantrill's spectacular signing in June 1921, 'for a figure below the £5,000 Derby County asked', was made just days before Taylor resigned. The player seems to have little say in the matter: **Quantrill was away on his honeymoon when Mr. J. I. Taylor and Mr. Vincent Hayes interviewed the Derby officials last week. The player gets a proportion of the transfer fee as he had not had a benefit at Derby.(36)** Mistakes were made, however, and could be very costly. In January 1923 Gilchrist was signed from Celtic FC for a hefty £4,500, but by October the directors were trying to persuade Celtic to take him back 'and relieve us of the remaining portion of the transfer fee'. They refused.(37)

Signings were decided by the board in a formal manner: **19 Feb 1924 - It was proposed by Mr. H. Parker and seconded by Lt. Col. Smith that Clyde be offered £2,000 for their centre half Forrest. It was proposed by Lt. Col. Smith and seconded by Mr. W. Sharples that Duxbury and King be offered to Nelson FC for the sum of £500. It was agreed that Laird be offered to Plymouth at a fee of £1,000, £500 to be paid this year, and £500 in 1925.** Consistently more successful, were signings made on close personal recommendation, usually from small Scottish junior teams, for small fees.

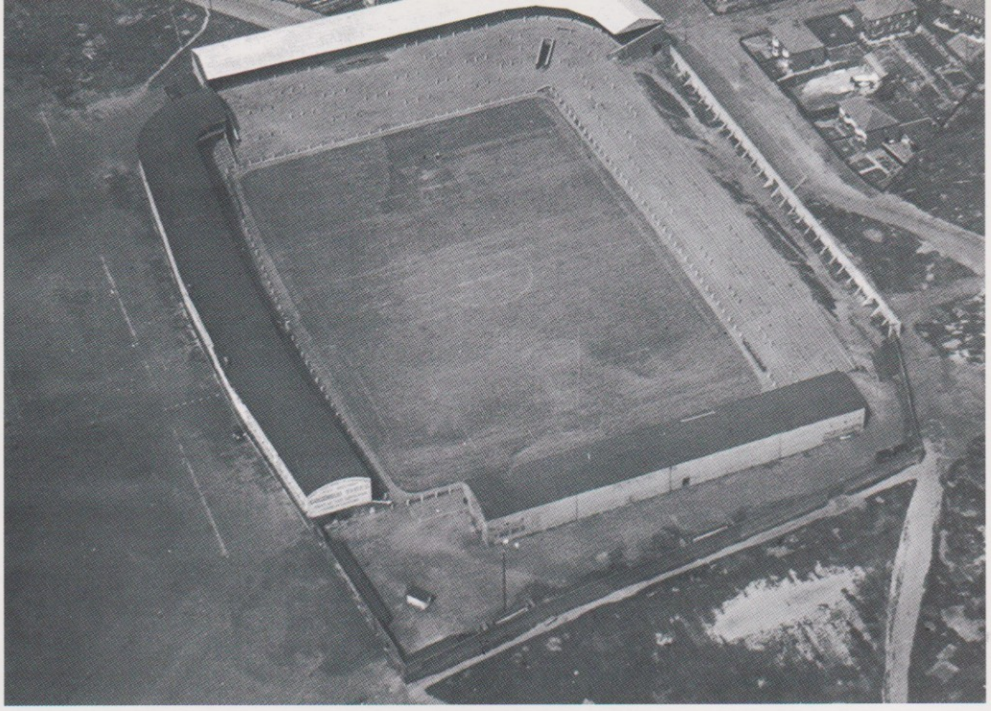
In 1922 Bobby Crawford was signed from Glenbuck Cherry Pickers. The directors generously consenting that a cheque for £25 be sent 'as a donation for the transfer of R. Crawford', a player who was to make almost 400 league appearances for the club in the next 11 years, including a run of 187 consecutive games.**(38)** For his services he received a Grandfather clock on his marriage, and a benefit of £400 after seven years. He was sold to Blackpool for £1,000 in 1932, and retired while playing for Southport in 1937-8. He later described his signing. He was born in Glespin a few miles from Glenbuck in Lanarkshire. His two uncles had played for the Cherry Pickers, and he naturally followed suit. After games he would have his tea at Johnny Shankly's, 'the father of a footballing household'. He was spotted by 'Jock' Graham, a former Ranger who was the nephew of Johnny Graham, the old Invincible - 'He recommended me to North End'.**(39)** Tiny sums were usually involved in such signings, but it is clear that North End had a loyal staff of 'watchers' among its extended Scottish family of former players who spent a great deal of time identifying likely talents.

RETRENCHMENT AND RELEGATION

North End's faltering performance on the field drew only faint criticism of the directors at the AGM in 1923, though Hayes had been sacked at the start of the year. He was replaced by James Lawrence, who had amassed three championship and five Cup Final medals in his record 432 games for Newcastle United. His greatest long-term contribution was to be his bringing with him from South Shields FC of the future trainer, William Scott.**(40)** Even when the scale of the club's new debt became apparent a motion of support was passed, 'with the assurance that the directors retained, completely and without qualification, the shareholders confidence', and Harold Parker could still tell of the good times a coming.**(41)** By the following year a full scale financial crisis had developed, and the club seemed about to be buried in its debt mountain. In March 1924, nine players were transfer-listed, and Rawlings (£1,250), Hamilton (£4,000), and Quantrill (£3,000) were sold. At the start of the 1924-5 season Roberts, the leading goal scorer for the previous five seasons, was put up for offer.**(42)** On 8 October, 'the secretary reported that Roberts had been transferred to Burnley for a sum of £4,600, £2,600 having been paid, and a £2,000 Bill of Exchange is due on 24-12-24'. In January 1925, Joe McCall played his last game for the club.**(43)**

The 1924 AGM responded by criticising the players, who, it was felt, were not playing the prevailing off-side game as well as they ought. Both forwards and defenders were at fault. Lawrence was absent and a director answered critics of North End's tactics: **Mr. Parker said the manager's instructions about offside were never carried out by the defence. They had not the intelligence to carry it out. They were let down repeatedly by the defence last season. Goals were scored against North End not so much on account of offside tactics as through the backs failure to tackle.** The chairman refused to answer questions as to whether the off-side policy was the manager's or the board's, 'Mr. Lawrence is in charge of the team. naturally what he does is with the approval of the board'.**(44)**

As the worst predictions of the consequences of the directors' improvement scheme began to be realised, James Taylor was re-elected to the board in March 1925. The club was eight points adrift at the end of January, and the playing staff had been run down to such an extent that relegation was almost inevitable. After a 2-0 defeat at the hands of West Bromwich Albion ended interest in the Cup, 'Perseus' could grumble: **It was the old story at Deepdale today. Had North End possessed the slightest power and quickness at close quarters they would not have lost a game of which they had by far the better. The Albion were a disappointing side.(45)** Others had noted the club's frighteningly rapid decline. In a series on famous



THE OLD HEY FIELD, c1930.

THE STILL LARGELY UNDEVELOPED AREA AROUND THE GROUND IS CLEARLY APPARENT IN THIS AIR PHOTOGRAPH, THOUGH SEMI-DETACHED HOUSING (THE SUPREME HOUSING ACHIEVEMENT OF THE INTER-WAR YEARS) HAS BEGUN TO ENCROACH. THE CLUB GENERALLY FROWNED ON ADVERTISING, BUT THE LARGE SIGN PAINTED ONTO THE SOUTH END OF THE WEST STAND IS PROCLAIMING THE MERITS OF GOODRICH TYRES. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

clubs, 'Historian' wrote: '**North End's greatness now lies in the past. Today Preston North End do not cut much of a swathe in football. They have been too often found either in the lower half of the First Division, struggling to avoid descent into the Second, or actually in the Second, bidding for a return. In other words, they have been classed among the mediocrities of the first class group. At present, if one may perpetrate an Irishism, its greatness lies in the past. To the average follower of football today, North End's name possesses no particular significance'.(46)** The writer did however, concede that football would not be what it was without them!

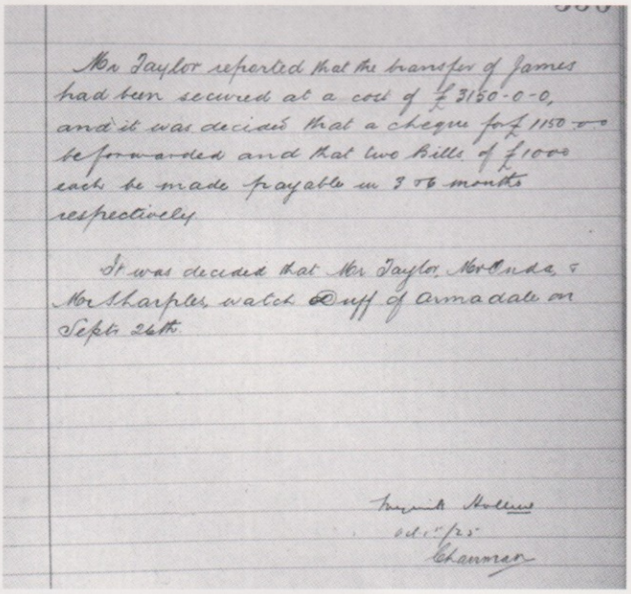
With relegation James Lawrence resigned, taking up a post with the German club Karlsruhe a few weeks later. He was replaced by Frank Richards, who assumed the joint responsibility of secretary and manager, 'the two offices being combined to save expense'.**(47)** To the board the season had not been altogether a failure, a profit of £2,881 had been made and the debt to the bank had been reduced to just over £10,000. The directors were personally liable for the overdraft maximum of £14,000, and money was to be made available for new signings. Taylor quickly made his presence felt and was 'to do all the negotiating with regard to players'. A period of financial consolidation after the expenses of the 1922 scheme was to be followed by a more forward policy of reconstruction in the Second Division, as a prelude to a hoped-for return to the top flight.**(48)** The times were propitious for such a policy. The alteration of the off-side law in 1925 led to an increase in the number of goals scored until Herbert Chapman converted the old attacking centre half into a third defender. This in turn paved the way for the development of what became known as the W/M formation - so called because these letters covered the theoretical positions of the players. The 'W' formation for example, was the forward line. The three upper tips of the letter comprised the positions of outside left, centre forward and outside right, whereas the bottom points were occupied by the inside left and inside right. The critical position in the defensive 'M' formation was that of the centre back, between the twin lines of two half and full backs.**(49)**

Amazingly, this was the most significant evolution of the British game since North End had pioneered the attacking centre half in the 1880's. A good centre forward, a 'stopper' centre half, and two skilled inside forwards were thus top of James Taylor's shopping list for 1925-26.

THE SIGNING OF ALEC JAMES

Alec James was born at Mossend, North Lanarkshire, the son of a respectable railwayman and a Dundonian mother. He was a small child and notoriously thin, 'There's not enough fat on Wee Eck to fry an egg!'. He had a short-lived job at Beardmore's steelworks, which ended when he was sacked for playfully throwing a home-made bomb. He had a number of jobs before signing for Raith Rovers in 1922. A team tour to the Canary Islands came to grief when they were shipwrecked, Alec being in the bath at the time. Though Scots would claim to be naturally better at football than anyone else, their less pressured league programme allowed a greater development of their close-ball playing skills. At Kirkcaldy he was on good money, £6 a week and £4 in summer, far in excess of what his mates in the steel mills or down the pits could earn - if they could find work at all. James was to emerge as a new type of player, with a clear idea of his own worth. At Preston he was said to put £300 a week on the gate receipts, but never earned more than £8-8s-6d a week. In other sports, players' 'box office' worth was becoming recognised, but footballers - the first professional sportsmen - lagged well behind. Their wages were not sufficient to provide them with a livelihood after they had retired, and they were frequently treated as little more than hired hands by the wealthy amateurs who controlled their clubs. All his career James kicked against this attitude of subservience.(50)

James was in all respects a modern player. He had a car, was a frequent cinema and night-club goer and enjoyed listening to Henry Hall's Dance Orchestra on the radio. He was also a great practical joker, as trainer Will Scott frequently found to his cost. The club had a garage under the West stand. One day James asked Chandler to help him to fit a new tyre on his car. Chandler helped, only to find, when he collected his own car, that one of his new tyres was missing, and he was left with an old tyre and tyre rim! Returning from a game at Cardiff, the team had dinner in a swish restaurant in Shrewsbury. While the orchestra played, James noted that the end of the cellist's bow kept coming in close proximity. Of course, he grabbed it, and a regular tug of war between the two 'players' ensued. On another occasion in Gloucester, Scott had found really first-class 'digs' for the team. The hotel was run by an old lady, who 'had experience' of footballers, but Scott assured her that 'his boys' were different. He warned the players to behave and went on ahead from the railway station. As he booked the team in, he saw the manageress stiffen with shock at the sight of Preston North End's best lining up mutely behind him. To his horror he saw that they had changed clothes with one another. Little Alec James was wearing Morris's great overcoat, and Roberts had on a small overcoat, a small boy's cap and a silk scarf draped over his shoulder. Scott managed to escape to his room and the manageress did not realise that 'this lot' were the respectable young men he had promised her. But when it came to training or playing football Alec James was as serious as anyone. He was a perfectionist.(51)



Mr Taylor reported that the transfer of James had been secured at a cost of £3150-0-0, and it was decided that a cheque for £1150-0-0 be forwarded and that two Bills of £1000 each be made payable in 3 & 6 months respectively.

It was decided that Mr Taylor, Mr [illegible] & Mr Sharples watch Duff of Armadale on Sept 26th.

Oct 1st/25
Chairman

DIRECTORS' MINUTE BOOK, 24 SEPT 1925.

JAMES TAYLOR FINALLY GETS HIS MAN, AND ALEC JAMES, PROBABLY THE FINEST PLAYER THE SCOTTISH GAME HAS PRODUCED BECOMES A NORTH ENDER. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

Having been spotted by James Lawrence, James had been carefully assessed by North End's 'watchers' for some time, but his lack of height and uncertain temperament put many clubs off signing him. At a meeting on 10 June 1925, Taylor was authorised to visit Kirkcaldy and sign James for a maximum of £2,500 to the club and £500 to the player. Nine days later the offer was raised to £3,000. Further negotiations followed.**(52)** James's future partner at inside forward, Willie Russell of Airdrieonians was signed in August, but James remained elusive.**(53)** On Sunday 20 September at 11am, as Leicester City were believed to be about to strike, the executive met at Deepdale to send Taylor north once again, with 'powers to pay £3,500'. Later in the week, Taylor reported that James's services had been secured for £3,150, with £1,150 paid directly and cheques for £1,000 to follow in three and six months. In fact, it was the chairman, Sir Meyrick Hollins, who actually 'paid' for James by personally guaranteeing a further £3,000 of the club's overdraft.**(54)** In December the centre half, David Morris, followed James from Raith Rovers for a fee of £4,600, and in July 1926 Roberts was brought back from Burnley for a mere £1,500. During the season 1925-26 the huge sum of £12,468 had been spent on eight Scottish players, more than double the capitalisation of the entire company five years earlier.**(55)**

The signing of James, and his 'bundling over the border' quickly became a legend. Racing him down to North End's game at Middlesbrough, the North End official's car radiator blew, and James was put on a train for the last stage. He arrived late, and was shocked by North End's high ball game. His team mates thought that he was an inexperienced trialist, and felt sorry for him!**(56)** James quickly established himself as North End's star, and Taylor later estimated that he paid for the team's travelling expenses through their share of the increased 'away' gates he attracted. As 'Perseus' later recalled: **It did not take the little man long to demonstrate to the seeing eye that here was a footballer of unequalled gifts. His uncanny ball skill, rare perception of the right move, his versatility and coolness soon gave North End's football a distinctive note which brought people to Deepdale, purely for the sake of watching him play, from an ever widening area.(57)** The club had begun to buy houses to rent to its senior players, and 10 Sherbourne Crescent was henceforth 'to be let to Mr Alexander James from the PNEFC at a rental of 20s per week'.**(58)**

A variety of means were devised to pay for the acquisitions. The directors' guarantees were increased, unissued shares were taken up and the share capital was raised to £20,000. Local firms who took up blocks of shares, included Joseph Foster & Sons of the Soho Foundry, George Toulmin & Sons owners of the Lancashire Daily Post, John Hawkins & Sons, Cotton Spinners, and Ewart Bradshaw of Bradshaw's Motor House. Frank Richards was expected to supervise this technically very detailed scheme in addition to managing the team. The running of the club was to be supervised by three committees of directors; an Executive Committee, a Finance Committee and a Ground Committee. All were chaired by Hollins, and James Taylor was restrained by his absence from the Finance Committee. The players' wages were paid on three scales, Grade one £8-8s-0d, Grade two £6-5s-5d, and Grade three £5-4s-4d. Trainer Will Scott's wages were increased by a pound to £6 a week, with a £50 bonus for promotion. For the season 1926-7 season tickets for the West stand were to be increased to 50s plus tax for the central block, 40s for blocks B and C, and 35s for the paddock.**(59)** The bank was not convinced and demanded that the club's excess overdraft be secured. Ewart Bradshaw was accordingly ordered to send in his £1,500 guarantee at once.**(60)**

FROTH BLOWERS AND THE GREAT CAR CRASH OF 1927

North End did not make the immediate return to the First Division many hoped for in 1926. The new team was taking time to form, and amid fears of Russian gold swelling the coffers of the Miners' trade union, the AGM lasted just ten minutes.

A major effort to get out of the Second Division was to be mounted in 1926-7. Throughout the winter the signs were good. Community singing was introduced at Deepdale, and greatly pleased the directors, who hired the 'Besses O' th' Barn' band to assist. 'Perseus' was appalled at this desecration of Deepdale. A band was acceptable, but he had only scorn for 'the froth blowers anthem'.(61) In February, Councillor Lucas set up a '100,000 Shilling Fund', to raise £5,000 for new players: **Representatives have been elected in many of the workshops of the town, and collecting books are being issued ...all that is wanted is the money ...the new players will follow'.**(62) The Shareholders' Association felt that two new men would secure promotion, and by early March North End were in third position behind Middlesbrough and Notts Forest, a point behind the latter with two games in hand. Hopes were high, and 'Perseus' could boast that 'Everyone agrees that this is North End's lucky season'.(63)

PRESTON NORTH END FC, 1926.
THE THREE NON-PLAYERS ON THE LEFT OF THIS PHOTOGRAPH ARE **(L-R) R. H. TAYLOR (ASSISTANT SECRETARY), R. H. RICHARDS ('SECRETARY-MANAGER'), AND WILL SCOTT.** (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

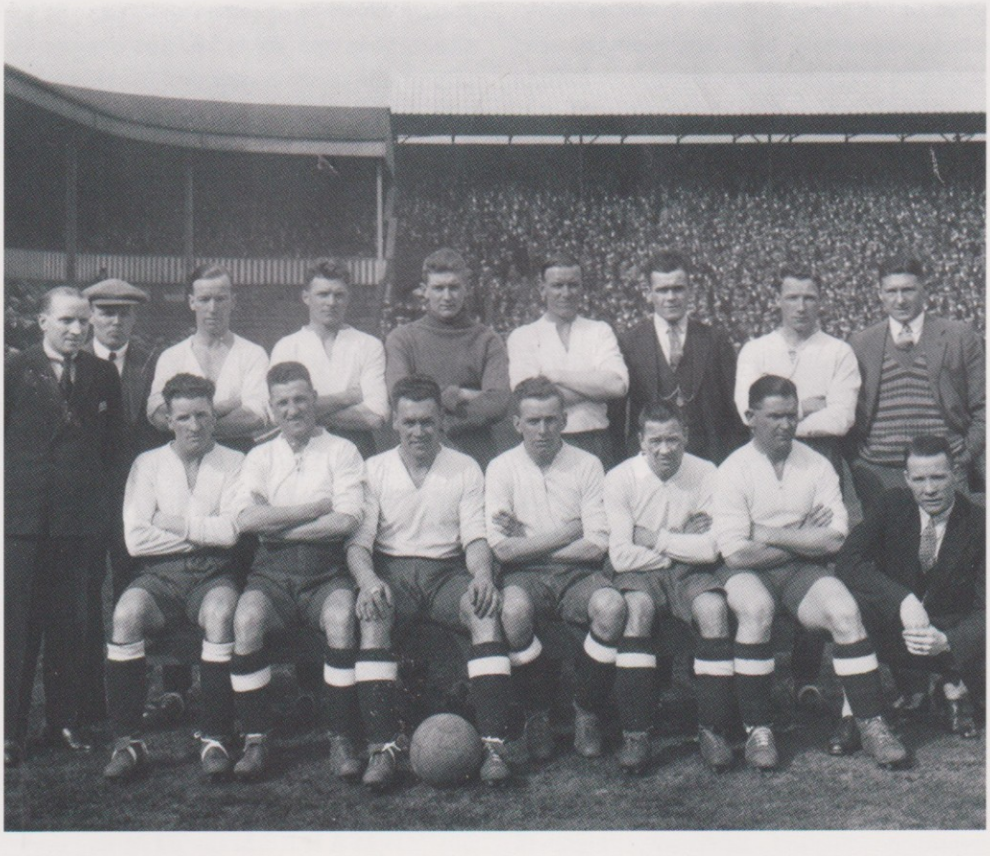
After a match at Barnsley, Roberts, Russell and Jackson missed the train back to Preston. Alex Jackson offered to drive them to Penistone Junction, where they could catch the connection for Manchester. They were obviously unaware of the junction's dark place in North End history, as the site of the Cup Final rail crash of 1889. As Roberts recalled: 'About 8 o'clock, Alex, who was driving, made the mistake of thinking there was a turn, for the road was straight, and the car ran into a ditch'. Roberts was thrown out, fell heavily onto the road, dislocating his shoulder and breaking his arm. Lucky not to have been killed, he was ruled out for the rest of the season. In his 30 games, he had scored 26 goals.(64) The team's form now fell away, and they finished the season in sixth place, five points behind the runners-up. 'Perseus' felt that the accident had not been entirely to blame. The side lacked balance and the football had never acquired 'that smooth action and effortlessness which obtain the maximum of result from the minimum of effort'.(65)

Frank Richards had intimated that he did not wish to continue as 'manager', and he went on to manage Bournemouth and Boscombe United with some success from 1928-30. He was replaced by Alex Gibson, who was to serve until April 1931.(66) Gibson was present at the annual meeting of 1927, to hear the growing criticism of the board's policy of recruiting established players in Scotland. The Shareholders' Association had become closely involved in running the third team, and were men of some experience. 'You have never found a really good young player', one shareholder protested, 'since Dicky Bond left Preston, and we want another young Bond, another Bell, and another Jefferis (hear, hear)'. Gibson, who had been both manager and a director of Kilmarnock, was a disciplinarian and felt that he could 'get the best out of the players'. He would lead the men and if they would not be led he would get rid of them. If he won promotion he had been promised a bonus. 'You can take it from me', he concluded,' that nothing will be left undone in trying to get the men we want, and you can trust a Scot to try and earn that bonus. (laughter and applause)'. Though 'Perseus' approved of such an experienced appointment, events were to prove that it was perhaps not one suited to get the best out of Alec James.(67) Other bodies were moving in the heavens, and a week later a huge crowd gathered beside Deepdale to watch the solar eclipse of 1927.(68)

ALEC JAMES AND THE WEMBLEY WIZARDS

The team took the 1927-8 season by storm. At New Year they had lost just four games and were scoring at the rate of two goals a match. A record crowd of 37,713 for a Cup match with Everton produced receipts of over £3,000 and was 'solid testimony to the capacity of modern Deepdale'.(69) Promotion was vital, both to ease the club's financial problems, and to enable it to hold on to Alec James. 'Until the season 1928/9', he later wrote, 'I never knew what trouble was at Preston. Then came the one and only cloud. And didn't the rumour-mongers make the most of it?'(70)

Rumours were rife that 'Wee Eck' was to be capped for Scotland, and he had been 'watched' by Herbert Chapman at Port Vale on 6 February 1928. Chapman had been heard to say that he would have the Scot 'at any cost'.(71) Scotland were to play Ireland on 25 February, the same day that North End had an important match at Maine Road.



PRESTON NORTH END FC, 1928-29.

BACK ROW (L-R): ALEX REID, WILL SCOTT (TRAINER), SYD CHANDLER, FRANK WARD, FRANK MOSS, TOM HAMILTON, KENNY CAMERON, BOBBY CRAWFORD, HARRY HAMILTON. FRONT ROW: ALBERT SMITH, WILLIE RUSSELL, DAVID MORRIS (CAPTAIN), NORMAN ROBSON, ALEC JAMES, GEORGE HARRISON, BILL WADE.

A PHOTOGRAPH DOMINATED BY THE NEWLY ROOFED SPION KOP. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

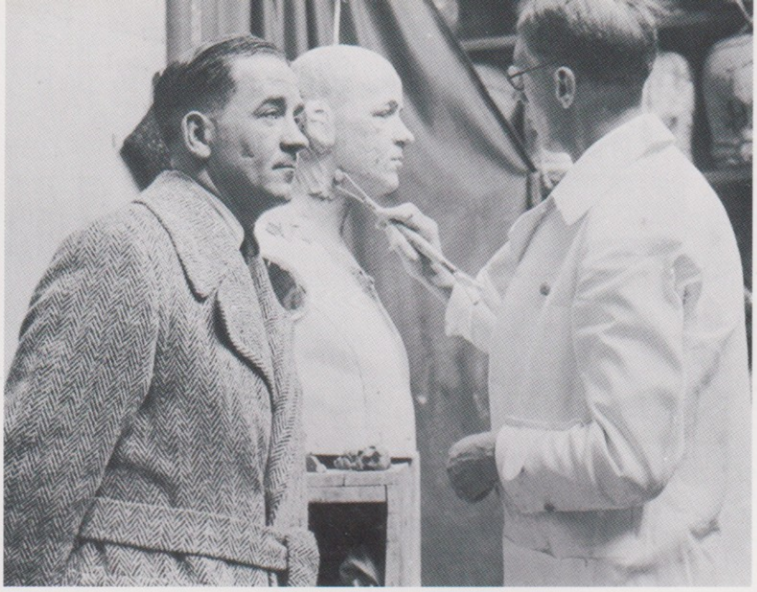
A conflict of interest thus developed. On 18 February, just a few minutes before he learned of the death of his father, James was called up for the international. The local press reported that James was thrilled, but that he understood the club's position, and 'has placed himself in the hands of the manager and directors'.(72) 'Perseus' supported the club, arguing that the 'public' would 'be right to be upset' if James was released. The 'public', the manager and the directors, 'would have liked to meet the natural desire of the men to add a new cap to their collection of trophies, but circumstances forbade it'.(73) In the event the affair seemed to end amicably, and James gave one of the performances of his life against Manchester City: **James made everyone understand why the club could not release him, not only by what he did, but by the original way he did it - his opponents never knew what move he would adopt.(74)** The truth, which 'Perseus' must have known, was rather more complex. The directors had indeed refused to release him on 21 February, but three weeks earlier they had also refused 'a request by A. James to be placed on the open transfer list'. A fatal breach had opened between the board and their great player, for the sake of the single point from the City game.(75)

On 21 March, the club agreed to release James for the Scotland-England match to be played ten days later, and the manager with four directors accompanied him to Wembley. The club also provided him with a pair of shorts, which James refused to wear, since they were shorter than his usual plus-fours! By destroying England 5-1, the 'Wee Blue Devils' established themselves as effectively the champions of the world, and James's performance has probably never been excelled at that level by a North Ender. In his absence, North End easily defeated Bristol City at Deepdale, but the Wembley result was a sensation, 'England Scotched!', 'England's Humiliation', 'Handsome Thrashing By Scotland', 'Outstanding Triumph of James and Jackson'. James scored twice himself, and was the mastermind of the Scottish team. The decisive goal was Scotland's second. James side-stepped the defenders: **Wilson did not know where he had gone, Hufton did not know how he was coming. Both were lost. The shot went like a rocket away past the keeper's right hand and the Tam o' Shanters brigade went delirious with joy.** With the final whistle the Wembley Wizards passed into folklore, as the bemused band played the Afghan national anthem.(76)

The board now faced the problem of how a Second Division club could realistically hope to retain the services of one of the world's greatest players. His sale, however, would drastically reduce the club's indebtedness. James Taylor took personal charge of the problem, but soon discovered that Alec had an agenda of his own. In April, he presented the board with a framed photograph of himself shaking hands with the Duke of York, taken before the England game. The original entry in the minute book had to be torn out, and the following was re-inserted: **17 April 1928: Player A. James offered for the board's acceptance a photograph of himself ...The Board unanimously agreed to accept same and the secretary was instructed to carry their thanks to the donor.** Having been among the top teams all season, the club now narrowly missed promotion a second time. After 36 games, Chelsea, Manchester City and North End had 50 points. Preston managed just three more in the remaining six games. The disasters started at Nottingham, where the team crashed 6-2. The train was late and a number of the players, particularly the centre half Morris, suffered from travel sickness.(77) James was injured, and confidence suffered. Having led Grimsby Town 6-0, for instance, the team could only cling on 'amazed and confused' as the home side pulled four goals back.

MARKING TIME AT DEEPDALE

The failure to secure promotion had been a financial disaster for the club, whose debt had risen to over £15,000, but home attendances had risen to an



Alec James poses for posterity.
(National Football Museum)

average of 17,000 a game, their highest between 1922-3 and 1934. Almost £4,500 net had been spent on players, but cynics felt that the director's did not really want promotion, which could have been made certain with the acquisition of the ever mystical 'two new players'. Others pointed to the club debt of £15,000 - a sum conveniently rumoured to be the going price for Alec James. A second crisis now arose over his freedom to play for Scotland against Wales on 27 October 1928, and quickly became a major news item. As James later recalled: **I had letters by every post from unknown fans in Scotland saying that I was going to be victimised by my club's anxiety to keep me for themselves.(78)** He seems to have been assured by Gibson that if he was picked he would be released, but the board minutes are quite clear: '25 Sept. 1928: A request from the Scottish Football association for the services of Alec James in the International v. Wales was refused'. In the event the SFA amazingly and tactfully, failed to select him. James was furious.

North End had made a good start to the 1928-9 campaign. Reading were swept away 7-0 ('North End's Greatness: Reading Overwhelmed'), and in September the team was reported to be playing, 'beautifully balanced and cleverly wrought football'. In mid-September the football world was agog at rumours of a £10,000 offer for a player at a Lancashire club. All eyes were on Alec James, but Herbert Chapman's target was David Jack.**(79)** On the day of the Welsh international Preston were at home to Swansea Town. In the first half James simply refused to play: **What was responsible for his change of policy was not discernible, but that he was indisposed to follow his customary bent of mind he was at no pains to hide. He allowed himself no flights of fancy, cut out the ruses that are his great stock-in-trade, turned the ball over much as it came to him, he was designedly a penny-plain footballer, instead of a twopenny or sixpenny coloured.** All the team was affected, and the crowd was bewildered. Will Scott 'had a word' to James at half-time, reminding him of his duty to his fans, and North End came back in the second half to salvage a point.**(80)**

James recovered his form, and though the team was faltering, a crowd of 50,000 turned up to see the 'Wembley Wizard' play at Chelsea. By November the town was awash with rumour. 'Perseus' wrote enigmatically of 'all kinds of rumours born of recent great investments not paying off'. He believed that the club was just 'marking time'. He confirmed that there had been enquiries from other clubs over James, and clearly had a low opinion of the executive's footballing acumen.**(81)** The board was furious: **27- Nov-1928: The Board expressed their disapproval of Mr. Brierley's notes in the LDP of Saturday November 14th, and it was agreed that Messrs J. I. Taylor, Hollins and the manager interview Mr. Brierley.** In fact, by mid-December the board had decided 'that immediate steps be taken to transfer our player James'. The press got wind of the move, and Gibson had to deny that the club wanted £15,000, or that Everton had offered

£10,000. Indeed, no transfer was contemplated, 'The story is a shock to the club, for it is absolutely unfounded and calculated to make the player discontented'.(82)

At the board meeting of 15 January 1929 Alec James was listed. The club wanted £9,500, 'North End and James; The club decides to consider offers: Negotiations for famous forward'.(83) The club's affairs were now national news, and a second bombshell followed on 5 March; 'North End Sensation; Whole of the players put on transfer; drastic step by the board of directors'. More than £20,000 had been spent on players, but they had 'failed to restore North End'. Because of falling gates, a heavy debt and poor team form, the board decided 'to enter upon a new team building policy, and to set the finances of the club on a sounder basis'. The recession in the cotton trade had now developed into a long-term and irreversible decline, and both the progressive policy and the golden age of Alec James had ended at Deepdale.(84)

Offers for James duly arrived from most of the 'big' clubs. It was six months, however, before he agreed Arsenal's offer, for 'James made it as clear as he could (without actually saying so) that what he really wanted was a considerable amount of money, under the counter'.(85) So as the club ended a poor and distracted season in 13th place just six points clear of relegation, James was in his prime and savouring a freedom of play he was rarely to enjoy with Arsenal. At the end of March, North End defeated Chelsea, largely due to his efforts: **Where James came in so profitably was that seeing the ineffectuality of certain tactics he took it upon himself to alter them entirely, shifting the point of attack. He inspired his colleagues with a display of dribbling and feinting, as a means to an end, that even he has rarely surpassed.(86)** In April, when Scotland beat England at Hampden, James was the man of the match, and the press headlined, 'The Greatness of James'.

On 8 May the Preston team, James apart, sailed on the SS Olympic for an American tour. A month later the 'big football deal' was announced, James received his accrued benefit, and a novel job in London. For an extra wage of £250 he was to work as a 'sports demonstrator' in Selfridges. In fact, he was said to have agreed this job before his actual transfer to Arsenal. On 20 June, Taylor reported the details of the transfer, and of the Football League's inquiry which followed it. Arsenal had agreed to pay £8,750, with £4,375 down, and payments of £2187-10s in September, and £2189-10s the following January. The directors' private loans to the club were to be repaid at once, leaving £6,000 over.(87) The full story came out in 1934, in Brierley's obituary for Herbert Chapman: **Just before the Cup Final of 1929 ...I went up to London on the Friday, strolled into the Euston Hotel, and saw Mr. Chapman conferring with Mr. Pullen, then chairman of Leeds United. 'Oh' said Herbert, when he put his eyes on me, 'You are just the man I want to see. Mr. Pullen has been telling me that Leeds can't afford James and that there's only one place for him and that's the Arsenal. Now tell me how he can be got'. James wanted to turn his leisure time to profit, knowing how short footballing life was likely to be, and that was the decisive factor in his selection of the club he would join. I made Mr. Chapman aware of the full situation; he promptly got to work: and a few weeks later James had gone to Highbury'.(88)**

Alec James went on to achieve footballing greatness at Arsenal, but his golden era at Deepdale ended with North End facing a bleak future. With a little more luck with trains and injuries, the story could have had quite a different ending. Alec James had been the club's first 'superstar'. Locked in their old style ways of management, the directors had proved themselves completely out of their depth in trying to handle a player who for a time at least was a 'bigger' attraction than even their great club. Some lessons had perhaps been learned by Taylor, as one of James's army of youthful admirers, standing with his dad in the crowd, was to find out to his cost two decades later.

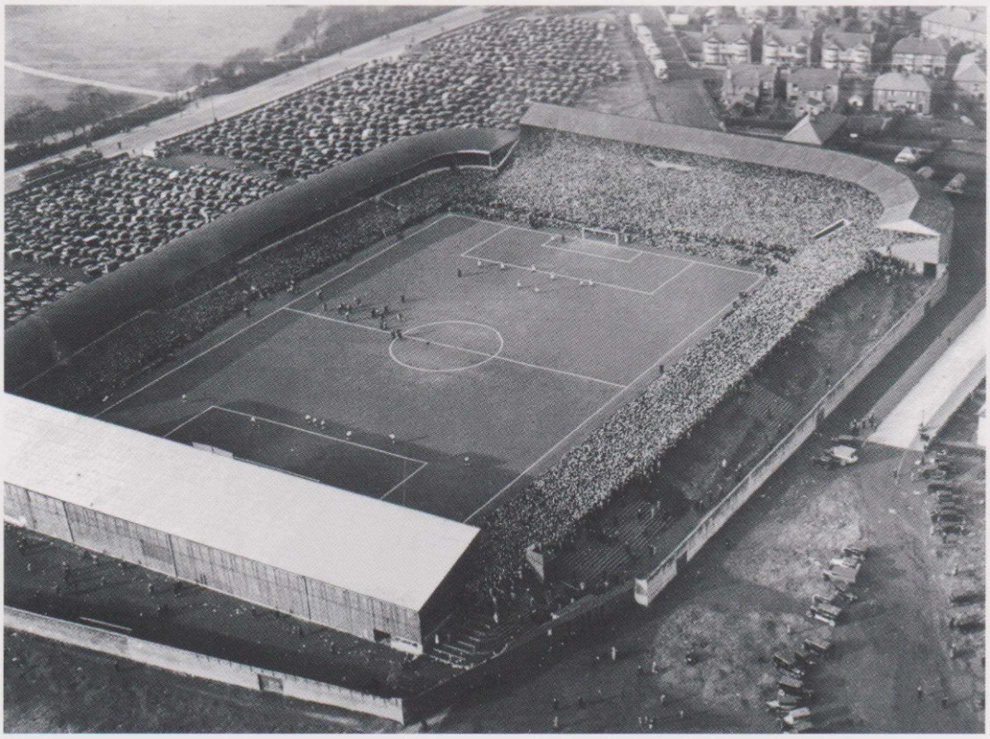
Tom Finney, the next PNE legend after Alec James, was born in 1922.
The 1920's may have belonged to Alec James, but by the end of the decade the young Tom Finney was beginning to show a keen interest in football. (Preston North End)

chapter

7

the age of the DICTATORS

North End had undertaken a number of foreign tours. European trips in the summer of 1914 and 1938 were to be the prelude to world wars, and share prices on Wall Street crashed only weeks after their great American adventure of 1929. The latter had been devised by a Mr. Len Peto, who sought to capitalise on the world wide fame of the Wembley Wizard, and the growing popularity of the round ball game in America and Canada.



Deepdale, FA Cup 5th round, 17 February 1934.

A then record crowd of over 40,000 saw Palethorpe hit a hat-trick as North End beat Northampton Town of the Third Division (South) 4-0, graphic testimony of the drawing power of the Cup competition. The Pavilion had still to be built on the east side, and this air photograph clearly reveals the importance of motor transport to Taylor's plans to build a Greater North End, by developing the club's support in North Lancashire and especially the Kendal area. (National Football Museum)

Unfortunately, with the Arsenal transfer in the offing Alec James withdrew, but the club did not inform Peto until the party of two directors, Will Scott, and 17 players arrived in the Big Apple. When the SS Olympic docked at New York, the press boarded the liner to interview Mr. James, the 'Box Office Performer No.1'. His absence being discovered, the financier telegraphed Preston offering James a first class passage to join the tour - to no avail. What Mr. Peto said to the party when he greeted them in the Hotel Knickerbocker 'was not fit to print'. All America, it seemed to Scott, wanted to see James.(1)

The first game was played at Bronx Park on a pitch beside the overhead railway. When their opponents wanted a break, they kicked the ball onto the line and the team with the referee lay down for a rest. The Preston team was then introduced to the crowd at Madison-Square Garden. With James absent, Peto had devised a new attraction: 'Ladies and gentlemen, we are about to introduce you to the Preston North End Soccer Team. THE CHAMPIONS OF THE WORLD'. The team entered to deathly silence, for the crowd had clearly never heard of the North Enders. In Brooklyn, North End played a New York Giants' side on a flooded pitch. To combat the submergence of a whole wing, Preston played three centre forwards and won 4-2. Only with difficulty did Scott manage to prevent the janitor from burning the team's kit, which he had thought was rubbish. The team was beaten in Detroit and by the Bethlehem Steel Works side in Pittsburgh, which included a number of English players. Here, due to a misunderstanding, several players were threatened with arrest for stealing hotel blankets.(2)

Against the backdrop of the Gangster War, two games were played in Chicago. The team was taken to City Hall to meet the Mayor, 'Big Bill' Nelson, and travelled to games with a strong police guard. With their convoy of five cars, with motor-cycles fore and aft travelling at 70 mph, Scott was frightened that the party would be taken for 'gangsters in footballer disguise'. This completed the American part of the tour, and the team moved on to Canada, playing in Toronto and Montreal. In Montreal it was planned to drop the ball from an aeroplane, and Scott (always ready to improvise tactics) advised his charges to form a cluster in their penalty area to avoid being hit by it.(3)

Having travelled 16,000 miles to win seven and to draw two of their eleven games, North End now found that to recoup some of his losses, Peto had booked further appearances of the 'World Champions' in Boston and New York. When the tourists refused point blank to play any more games, they found themselves with no hotel and no passage home. Eventually a ship was found for the ten-day Montreal - Liverpool crossing. Scott got some inkling of the trouble ahead - with 17 Preston players let loose in an ocean liner on the high seas - when four were found to have absconded before the ship sailed. His naval training no doubt stood him in good stead as he ran from bar to bar looking for 'four men who might be British'.(4)

On 24 October 1929, four months after the liner slipped out into the St. Lawrence, share prices crashed on Wall Street, and Preston's more localised cotton recession was swept on into the great world depression. For the next four years the club's destiny, like that of most of the world, was to be in the hands of the financiers.

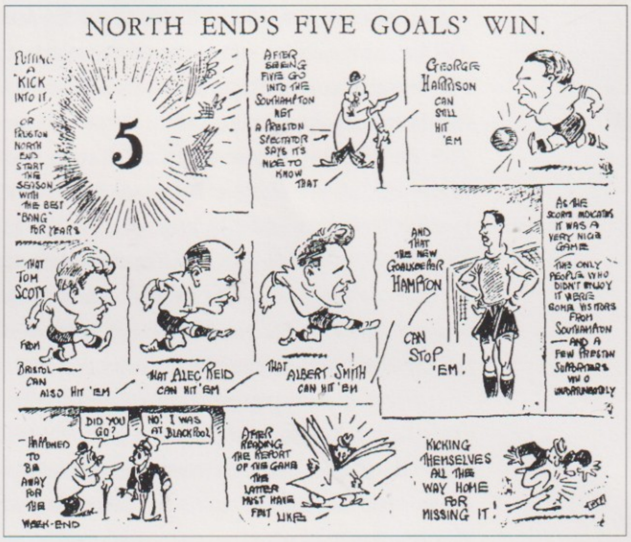
THE GATHERING STORM

On 23 June 1929, Alex Gibson and secretary Reg Taylor were at the quayside in Liverpool to meet the SS Letitia. Only now did Will Scott and his troublesome charges learn of Alec James's move to Arsenal. The long saga shattered club morale and season ticket sales fell by almost half. Scott later recalled: **We badly needed a good start to revive our supporters - but what a rude shock we received with five defeats in a row, then a draw at Bristol for our first point out of 12. Nineteen players were called upon in these first six matches.(5)** The first six home matches attracted an aggregate of just 67,000, compared with more than 100,000 in 1928. The holiday was indeed over. More than £4,000 was spent on new signings Alf

Horne and Jimmy McClelland, and form improved, but the bad start meant that relegation was a real possibility all season. Many supporters felt that a fall to the Third Division would be the end of the professional game at Deepdale, desperate sentiments well in accord with the rising national and world crisis. Three crucial wins over Easter, against the two Nottingham teams, saved the club. The crunch match came against relegation rivals Notts County at Meadow Lane on Easter Tuesday. Jim Taylor 'suffered agonies' as he left the stand to join Scott on the bench, urging the team on in the driving rain. North End kept their nerve to win 3-0.

The general atmosphere of crisis was heightened by the barracking of players, and 'unfavourable' comment in the press. On New Year's Eve 1929, for example: **The manager reported a difference with the reporters of the LDP. Manager to interview Mr. Brierley, and in the event of a failure of a satisfactory settlement, it was decided that Mr. Hollins and Mr. Taylor meet Mr. Brierley.(6)** The failure of the expansionist signings of 1925-6 had hit the directors hard, and in 'Perseus's' words, there was 'little disposition on the part of the management to review a policy that had not been crowned triumphantly, and incur fresh liabilities'.**(7)** The board faced a 'running fire' of criticism at the 1930 meeting. To make matters worse Blackpool had won the Second Division Championship and were now in a higher division than Preston for the first time. The Scots and the W Formation were attacked in equal measure. The latter had been the downfall of the side; 'Half the Scottish and half the English football method would not succeed in Second Division football today. If they wanted to play Scottish football let them run a team in Scotland'. The method was wrong. There were 'too many Scotsmen trying to blend with English forwards'. North End should emulate Blackpool and sign Southern League men.

Meyrick Hollins confirmed that the management had regular talks with the players, and in his typical fashion: **He could say for the men that they were all good-hearted players and had all done their best. He did not think there was anyone who had really let them down. Certainly they were as anxious as anybody the club should avoid the Third Division.** Alex Gibson denounced the barrackers, to be told by a shareholder that the North Enders were a very loyal lot and that their 'booing and shouting' should not be confused with other supporters: **He thought there was a tendency for the players to be thin skinned. They should close their ears to what was shouted at them by excitable persons and get on with the job they were paid for.(8)** The season had been one of ongoing financial crisis and as early as November 1929, just a month after Arsenal had paid the second of their instalments for James, Taylor had reported that the overdraft had reached almost £13,000, 'and accounts and wages could not be met next week unless we dispose of a player'. They would try and sell Russell, Robson or Hair.**(9)** The sale of James counteracted the fall of average gates to under 11,500 and enabled the debt to the bank to be cut to £11,500 by the end of the financial year. The procession of expensive Scottish signings was clearly over - at least for the time being.**(10)**


NORTH END'S FIVE GOALS' WIN.
PUTTING A "KICK" INTO IT, OR PRESTON NORTH END START THE SEASON WITH THE BEST "BANG" FOR YEARS
5
AFTER SEEING FIVE GO INTO THE SOUTHAMPTON NET A PRESTON SPECTATOR SAYS IT'S NICE TO KNOW THAT
GEORGE HARRISON CAN STILL HIT 'EM
—THAT TOM SCOTT FROM BRISTOL CAN ALSO HIT 'EM
THAT ALEC REID CAN HIT 'EM
THAT ALBERT SMITH CAN HIT 'EM
AND THAT THE NEW GOALKEEPER HAMPTON CAN STOP 'EM!
AS THE SCORE INDICATES IT WAS A VERY NICE GAME
THE ONLY PEOPLE WHO DIDN'T ENJOY IT WERE SOME VISITORS FROM SOUTHAMPTON — AND A FEW PRESTON SUPPORTERS WHO UNFORTUNATELY
—HAPPENED TO BE AWAY FOR THE WEEK-END
DID YOU GO?
NO! I WAS AT BLACKPOOL
AFTER READING THE REPORT OF THE GAME THE LATTER MUST HAVE FELT LIKE
KICKING THEMSELVES ALL THE WAY HOME FOR MISSING IT!

NORTH END HIT FIVE.

ONE OF BILL FURNIVAL'S CARTOONS. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

At the weekly board meetings the club's overdraft became as important a topic of debate as the team's performance. The 1930-31 season started better, with a 5-0 win over Southampton, seen by a crowd of just 9,200. Eight of the first eleven games were won, with a healthy goal difference of 37-17. To counteract the world currency crisis countries began to exchange goods by barter, New Zealand butter for English machine tools for example. The North End board facing a similar lack of liquidity, began to implement a similar ploy. Rather than buying players for cash, they would barter them. This was to prove a very important means of reconstructing the side in the mid-thirties. Its origins can be traced to the signing of Bill Tremelling from Blackpool in December 1930. North End agreed to pay £1,500, with £500 down and then £100 payments after the next ten home games. Two months later McClelland went to the Fylde coast, for £1,850: £350 paid directly, £600 'off our fee for Tremelling' and £150 after each of Blackpool's next six home games.**(11)** Clearly if the swap could have been co-ordinated the cash layout could have been reduced further. When payments had to be made, recourse could thus also be had to paying on the 'never never'. Tremelling was to prove an inspiring player who served the club as centre forward, centre half, and captained the 1937 Cup Final side.**(12)**

Gates rose slightly as North End finished the season in seventh position. Gibson had resigned in January and the team was to be run by a sub-committee 'until the future policy of the club is decided upon'.**(13)** James Taylor began to discuss tactics with the players, and when Lincoln Hyde was appointed in April 1931, he was to work with the sub-committee.**(14)** The directors thus seem to have used Gibson's departure to strengthen their control over the team, a tendency which increased as the thirties wore on. Hyde had been the successful secretary-manager at Stockport County between 1926 and 1931. If North End were to be relegated they could not have found a better Third Division specialist. He lasted just a season at Deepdale, and real power lay with the management committee.**(15)** After his departure in February 1932, the club was to be without a 'manager' until April 1936.

THE MOMENT OF DESTINY: DECEMBER 3RD 1931

The season 1931-2 was one of the most momentous in the club's history. Faced by impending relegation and demands from the bank for further spending cuts, the board's policy was to change drastically and lay the foundations of the recovery in the following year. 'Perseus' tried to raise spirits when the players began pre-season training: **Straightway a dozen or so were cantering the fringe of the field that looks a picture of green**

CENTRE HALF AND CAPTAIN, BILL TREMELLING, 'TOPICAL TIMES' CARD c1935.
(NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

turf, under the newly painted stands and seats, and before long Scott had his 'medicine ball' in action ...Short sprints, dribbling and Swedish drill were the other forms of training pursued, until rain came about.(16) Hyde was 'a man of very definite ideas', but changes would be slow, and 'we must be patient'.(17) The squad now contained just five Scots. The first half of the season proved to be an utter catastrophe, of an extent not to be seen again at Deepdale until the 1980's. Nine of the first 18 games were lost, and gates fell relentlessly to reach 6,523 in early December.(18)

Martins Bank had been exerting pressure on the club's overdraft since 1928 when, with Alec James as collateral, it had peaked at £15,440. This had considerably reduced the board's freedom to sign players, and through 1931 the bank had demanded that it be reduced further.(19) To meet these limits the club's costs were driven down and the wages bill fell to £9,329 in 1931-2.(20) These trends mirrored the national response to the world depression. To balance budgets, expenditure of all kinds was driven down, resulting in further unemployment. By October 1931 unemployment in Preston had reached more than 10,500, with a further 4,300 working short time.(21) Serious disturbances followed demonstrations in Glasgow and Salford. In April 1932, a march of 600 people from Preston Town Hall to the County Offices, in protest at the Means Test, was broken up by police. The crowd was driven into Pitt Street in scenes that the town had not seen for many years: **'They tricked us,' cried one of the unemployed, 'They got us in that side street, and they had us in a hole. I wish to God we had some real stuff like we had in 1914'.** Unemployed men were reported to have linked arms to protect onlookers, and the meeting was held in the Market Square.(22) Ultimately recovery came in America and Germany through government spending in the 'new deal' and re-armament respectively. In Britain Neville Chamberlain's 1932 budget planned to 'save' more than £35 million in cuts to expenditure. Unemployment had risen from more than two million in July 1930, to two and a half million in December 1931, and was to reach almost three million the following year.

It is against this background of world crisis and within the British banking orthodoxy of balanced books, that the very remarkable - not to say visionary - policy change of the North End board must be seen. For within three months of the Bank of England taking Britain off the gold standard, Deepdale saw the adoption of John Meynard Keynes's classic model for an investment-led recovery. By October, North End were being consistently beaten by only moderate sides, and by the end of November had gone seven weeks without a win. Efforts to strengthen the team, with the signings of Harper and the Preston-born Rowley from Tottenham, foundered on 24 November.(23) At the board meeting a week later, James Taylor 'explained the financial position of the club, and asked what policy the board intended to adopt in future'.(24) An emergency meeting two days later discussed the bank's latest demand that the overdraft be cut by a further £500. Meyrick Hollins was absent, and Taylor chaired the meeting attended by Messrs J. Melling, E. Bradshaw, N. Buck, C. L. Holt, W. Lucas and W. Onda. Gates had fallen to very low levels, and it was decided that 'out of dire necessity economies must be exercised'.

After a depressing discussion of the likely cuts, James Taylor changed the course of Preston North End's history in the twentieth century: **The chairman then asked members present to express their views on the future policy of the club, whether it had to be one of economy, or one of progress. Several opinions were expressed and ultimately it was unanimously decided that the policy for the future be progress.** A publicity committee comprising Messrs Bradshaw, Taylor and Lucas was to explain the new policy to the press.(25) The Lancashire Daily Post co-operated; 'New Policy Move: Directors decide on go-ahead policy, to recover prestige and public support'. The public was asked for its support, and there was to be new blood in the team. False economies had failed, and the club, which had once been a talking point, had sunk to 'a Second Division club of small importance'. **'Three or four years ago', Taylor was quoted as saying, 'we had no difficulty in getting people to see a side which**

played real football. The public found the lure of craft and individual distinction irresistible; they had something to talk about; and what we have had once we can have again'.(26)

On 10 December, Taylor and Buck reported that Harper and Rowley could be signed for £1,000 and £1,500 respectively. By reminding the Spurs management of their club's acquisition of Preston's best players, for nothing, at the turn of the century, Taylor was able to pay on 'easy terms' - £250 now, and £100 after each home match.**(27)** Edward Cashfield Harper was a prolific centre forward, having scored 43 goals in 38 games for Blackburn Rovers in 1925-6 (the year he won his England cap) and 37 goals for Tottenham in 1930-31. R. W. M. Rowley was an inside forward, whose game combined well with that of a prominent centre forward such as Harper. His father was the well-known manager of Preston Greyhound Stadium.**(28)** When Andrew McCluggage arrived from Burnley later in the month - he cost a further £950 - the team's performance improved famously. Before the signings, North End had picked up just 13 points from 18 games, afterwards they took 29 points from 24 games. The number of goals scored increased from 24 to 51, and goals conceded fell from 43 to 34. Ted Harper scored 24 goals in his 21 games, and the club finished nine points clear of relegation.**(29)**

The sudden improvement in form coincided with the start of the FA Cup competition, and the directors' gamble on a lucrative run paid off handsomely. The club reached the fifth round, defeating Bolton and Wolves, before losing to Huddersfield Town. A record crowd of 39,841 paid £2,811 to see North End beat Wolves at Deepdale, a graphic testimony to the upturn and the drawing power of the Cup. More than 5,000 were said to have travelled to Huddersfield, including 400 from Leyland Motors. This short run, after so many years of failure was also to mark the start of the club's decade of Cup success.**(30)** After the Bolton tie, half of the outstanding debt was paid to Tottenham, and the wage cuts imposed on the staff were rescinded.**(31)** However, other eyes were watching North End's progress, and Martins Bank requested the overdraft to be reduced from £11,500, 'after our receipt of our percentage from the Huddersfield Cup tie'.**(32)**

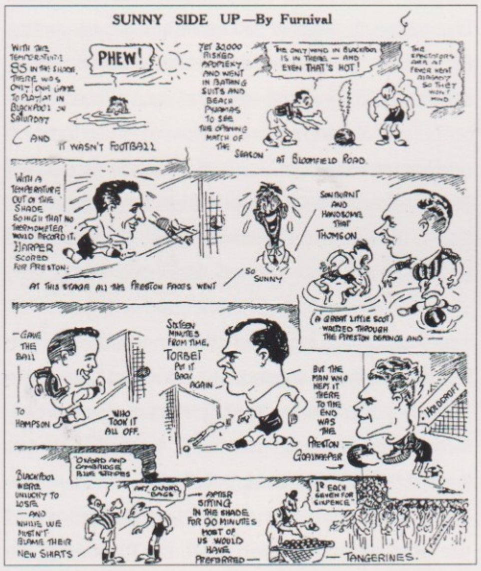
THE SOVIET MODEL AT DEEPDALE?

The North End board now proved themselves equally adept at drawing on the possibilities of a wholly different economic system. Soviet Russia seemed to be making great strides forward through Stalin's dictatorship, government by committee, and the five-year plans. The club would now be run entirely by committee. The resignation of Lincoln Hyde, and the experimental period of director management which had preceded it led the club to dispense with the services of a manager altogether. By March 1932, the board had evolved three committees: Financial, Ground and Publicity (or propaganda). Only James Taylor sat on all three. In addition an Executive Committee was formed to act as a bridge between the board and the trainer, Will Scott. It comprised Messrs Lucas, Buck, Melling and Taylor.

This thorough-going reorganisation was to prove to be the basis of subsequent success. Since the Executive Committee quickly became the driving force of the club, its remit was of central importance: **(1) To secure full and effective co-operation between the Board of Directors and the officials and playing staff. (2) To control the affairs of the club and perform the duties usually performed by a paid manager provided that the committee shall have no power to incur any liability in excess of £20 without the consent of the Board. (3) Wm.Scott as trainer to have full, complete and effective control over the players, and to be responsible to the board through the executive Committee, who will convey to him all instructions from the Board.** The committee was to recommend a player coach to organise the club's 'watchers' and to appoint a junior clerk to assist the secretary 'at a weekly salary of not more than 20s'. Will Scott's role was later clarified further. He was to have: **Full powers over the players, with no**

interference from the directors to the players, only through him, and he is to be responsible to the board through the executive committee, and, he will receive his instructions from the board through the executive Committee.(33) Cumbersome though it was, the system fitted the practical conditions of director-control prevailing at Deepdale, and within five years North End were to be a First Division club and at Wembley.

William Scott now became the most important link in the chain of command. He was born in 1893 at Willington Quay, a village lying across the Tyne from Jarrow in Northumberland. He joined the Navy in 1914, and served at H. M. Naval Physical Training School for five years. During this time he guested as an inside forward for Crystal Palace, and after the war joined South Shields serving as assistant treasurer, masseur and amateur player. He followed James Lawrence, the South Shields manager, to Preston in June 1923, and stayed on when the latter was dismissed in May 1925.**(34)** As the club's 'trainer-masseur', he found conditions primitive at Deepdale: **It was a matter of making the best use of the small dressing rooms for a gymnasium after all players had stripped for training. Massage had to be done in the same room in which players not requiring treatment were dressing.** He could only advise Joe McCall to cut down on his heavy smoking 'towards the end of the week' and did his best to keep the players out of the local ale houses.**(35)**


SUNNY SIDE UP—By Furnival
WITH THE TEMPERATURE 85 IN THE SHADE THERE WAS ONLY ONE GAME TO PLAY AT IN BLACKPOOL ON SATURDAY
PHEW!
AND IT WASN'T FOOTBALL
YET 30,000 RISKED APOPLEXY AND WENT IN BATHING SUITS AND BEACH PYJAMAS TO SEE THE OPENING MATCH OF THE SEASON AT BLOOMFIELD ROAD.
THE ONLY WIND IN BLACKPOOL IS IN THERE — AND EVEN THAT'S HOT!
THE SPECTATORS ARE AT FEVER HEAT ALREADY SO THEY WON'T MIND
WITH A TEMPERATURE OUT OF THE SHADE SO HIGH THAT NO THERMOMETER WOULD RECORD IT, HARPER SCORED FOR PRESTON:
AT THIS STAGE ALL THE PRESTON FACES WENT
SO SUNNY
SUNBURNT AND HANDSOME THAT THOMSON
(A GREAT LITTLE SCOT) WALTZED THROUGH THE PRESTON DEFENCE AND —
—GAVE THE BALL
TO HAMPSON
WHO TOOK IT ALL OFF.
SIXTEEN MINUTES FROM TIME, TORBET PUT IT BACK AGAIN
BUT THE MAN WHO KEPT IT THERE TO THE END WAS THE PRESTON GOALKEEPER
HOLDCROFT
BLACKPOOL WERE UNLUCKY TO LOSE —AND WHILE WE MUSTN'T BLAME THEIR NEW SHIRTS
"OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE BLUE STRIPES"
ANY OXFORD BAGS?
AFTER SITTING IN THE SHADE FOR 90 MINUTES MOST OF US WOULD HAVE PREFERRED —
1D EACH SEVEN FOR SIXPENCE
— TANGERINES.

One of Bill Furnival Cartoons.

From the nineteen-twenties to the fifties the 'Lancashire Daily Post' could provide description ('Viator'), analysis ('Perseus'), and a comic account of matches. (National Football Museum)

In 1924 a small gymnasium was acquired, and Scott obtained a radiant heat lamp, and some wall-bars from the former wartime hospital on Moor Park. They were still in use at Deepdale when he left thirty years later. He was rightly proud of the progress the club had made in this regard, and 'I feel the PP on the town's coat of arms in relation to North End might stand for Proud and Progressive'.**(36)** He was on friendly terms with nearly all of the many players who passed through the club and was frequently the butt of their jokes. Alec James wrote to him 'c/o Spare Parts, Deepdale' and much fun was made of his relationship with Taylor. When things were going not to JIT's liking during matches, he was often heard to bawl for 'Scott!', who would appear totally oblivious and deaf, until the great man substituted a more dignified request to speak to 'Mr. Scott'.**(37)**

With the decision not to appoint a manager, Scott took charge of the playing staff for training, coaching and tactics. Since North End was essentially a Scottish team playing in the English league, he was sent to Glasgow to study the playing style of Celtic and Rangers. He was particularly interested in defence, which had been a major weakness at Deepdale in recent seasons. The players adopted his ideas and spent many hours practising the new tactics. By adding their own ideas their tactical strength improved markedly. A strong team spirit developed, and the players accepted lower wages to help the club. In 1954 Scott wrote: **The outcome was clearly seen in practice matches. Team organisation was established and time would prove the effect it had on football in general. I am**

convinced this approach to the game put North End, along with other clubs on the road to making football more entertaining.(38)

Scott was the trainer from 1923 to 1932, and effectively 'manager' from 1932 to 1936, and from 1937 to 1947. During the war and until April 1947, he served as club secretary. In 1947 he took over at Ewood, but ill health caused him to quit and he returned to Deepdale in 1949, after a spell as Blackburn's chief scout. He appointed Jimmy Milne as his successor and trainer in 1950, and finally left Deepdale in March 1953, after an association of nearly thirty years. He retired to Seaburn, near Sunderland, where he briefly served as assistant manager to Alan Brown in 1960. William Scott, thus became the vital partner of James Taylor in establishing North End's pre-eminence across the middle years of the twentieth century, a period that included the rise of the New Invincibles, and the emergence of Tom Finney. In retirement he named his home on the banks of the Wear, 'Deepdale'. He died in April 1972.

The re-organisation of the club would not have been possible if James Taylor's position on the board had not softened. His expansionist ideas perhaps no longer seemed to be the threat they had appeared ten years earlier. Ironically this shift first became apparent with the appointment of Nat Buck to the board in 1930.(39) Buck had joined 'to fight or oust him', but quickly 'discovered he had been wrongly advised, and soon found himself Mr. Taylor's first lieutenant'.(40) By the mid-thirties Taylor had become the 'chief director of policy', and the detailed implementation of his ideas was put into force. The board's chairman, Sir Meyrick Hollins, was prepared to take a secondary role, providing decisions were made by agreement, and clearly recognised procedures were followed. 'Perseus' described his role as 'more that of a quiet observer and sympathetic helper than an organiser and administrator, but his close identification with its interests over many years meant much to it in difficult as well as in successful times', and he never missed a match at Deepdale.

One of nature's gentlemen, Sir Meyrick was a superb figure-head for the club. As a director of Preston's largest employer, Horrockses, Crewdson & Co., he was well respected throughout the Lancashire cotton industry and he was on the board of a number of banks. An Etonian, he won 'blues' at Oxford for cricket and running, and was also a handy footballer. During the war he raised his own company for France, and succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father in 1924. He was later a Deputy-Lieutenant of the County, and became High Sheriff in 1928.(41) His death at the age of 62 in 1938, just a few weeks after that of his wife, was the prelude to one of the last great funerals of a Preston cotton magnate. The cortege passed the ranks of mill workers massed by the Yard Works in

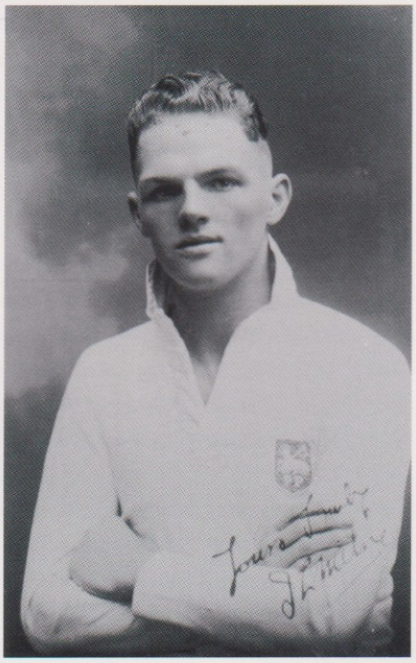
PRESTON NORTH END FC, 1937.

IT WAS QUITE RARE FOR THE BOARD TO BE PHOTOGRAPHED WITH THE TEAM, AND EVEN RARER FOR SIR MEYRICK HOLLINS THEIR CHAIRMAN TO BE INCLUDED. HERE, THE MAN WHO PUT UP THE MONEY TO SIGN JAMES IS SEATED ON THE FRONT ROW (LEFT), WITH JAMES TAYLOR SEATED FRONT ROW (RIGHT). SIR MEYRICK APART, THE BOARD OF THE 1930'S COMPRISED ONLY REASONABLY PROSPEROUS BUSINESSMEN, BUT MEN WHO WELL UNDERSTOOD THE NEED TO 'PUT SOMETHING IN THE WINDOW' TO DRAW A CROWD. THEIR MOVE TO A PROGRESSIVE POLICY AT THE HEIGHT OF THE DEPRESSION HAD ALREADY PROVED SPECTACULARLY SUCCESSFUL. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

Stanley Street. The football club was represented by all the board and by Scott, Holdcroft, Gallimore, Milne, Shankly and Maxwell.(42) Though Sir Meyrick gave the board strong financial credibility, his critical contribution in the early 1930's was his willingness to give cautious support to Taylor's progressive policy.

In the short term, the changes of management structure appeared to do little to alter the club's underlying problems. The bank reduced the overdraft to £11,500 in February 1932, but this was eased back to £12,000 in May.(43) To raise money the club created 250 'vice -presidents', and Messrs Maker & Potts were allowed to have their advertisement on the gable end of the stand in return for painting the back of the Spion Kop in 'three coats of paint'.(44) At the AGM of 1932, Meyrick Hollins was taken to task for having been reported to have said that the club did not have £5 to spend on new players. On occasions it seems likely that Hollins met short-term cash needs for wages etc, from his own pocket, and he had guaranteed the payment for Alec James: **People come to Deepdale and spend their shillings each week, and yet you find the chairman of the club giving out that Preston North End have not £5 to spend on players. A backward policy only pulls a club into the mire. Other clubs are in debt as well as ours.** The board did not intend to appoint a 'manager' since Scott was doing such a good job, 'He is proving very satisfactory to the Board, and the players have every confidence in him. It was said that he was one of the best trainers in the country'.(45)

If the signings of December 1931 had halted the club's slide, those of 1932-3 laid the basis of its future success. The Executive Committee agreed to 'view the first four league matches in order to study tactics', but found their plans hindered by financial constraints.(46) Crawford's sale to Blackpool for £1,250 could not prevent a further crisis, and when the bank pressed for a further cut in October, Jack Nelson had to be sold to Wolves for £4,000. This enabled all unpaid accounts to be cleared, and the club sent a cheque for £20 to Chorley, the player's former club.(47) A surplus was now available for new players. Scott and Taylor's remarkable ability to pick up future star players at minimal cost was never better illustrated than at this time. In August 1931, Frank Gallimore, the future full back in two Cup Finals, was signed from Witton Albion for £100 and a further £50 after eight central league games. In October 1932, Jim Milne came from Dundee United for £400, with a further £400 if he was kept on at the end of the season. Jimmy served the club faithfully for half a century.(48)



Jimmy Milne, 1935.

Dundonian Jimmy Milne was one of the signings which began the club's great revival of the 1930's. He played in the 1937 Final, but missed that of the following year through injury. He would serve the club in many capacities for over 50 years, discovering Howard Kendall and leading North End to Wembley in 1964. The departure of his son Gordon to Liverpool was perhaps one of the first indications of the collapse which would come a few years later. He, like his father, also missed a Cup winner's medal through injury. The 1930's Preston side was thus remarkable in producing three leading Scottish managers, Milne, Andrew Beattie, and perhaps most unlikely of all the great Bill Shankly. (National Football Museum)

Enormous care went into such signings. Just before Christmas 1932, negotiations began with Everton for the purchase of Harry Holdcroft and Harry Lowe the full back. The players were acquired for £800 and £1,000 respectively.**(49)** Holdcroft was regarded as a controversial goalkeeper for his habit of leaving his goal line and moving around the penalty box as the game required it - a revolutionary development for the time. A few days later, Arthur Fitton, an outside left was signed from Manchester United, all three players having been bought through the now respectable 'easy payments'.**(50)** A poor start to the season 1932-3 was thus turned around, the defence was settled, and Ted Harper set the club's goal scoring record of 37 goals. Harper now held the scoring records for Blackburn, Tottenham and North End, but the Football League refused the board permission to present him with a gold medal ('not to exceed £5 in value') to commemorate the feat.**(51)**

The season ended amid great optimism. At a board meeting on the eve of the AGM, Taylor outlined his plans to acquire new players, specifying six men by name, including one W. Shankly. The board reaffirmed its commitment to the forward policy, and a major team building was clearly underway. At the shareholders' meeting Taylor repeated the main elements of his policy. With the defence now settled, attention would switch to the forward line. The general feeling was that in 1933 the tide had at last turned, for as Hollins concluded, 'There has been more work put in during the last twelve months than ever in the history of the club. They are not going to shirk it next year either'. In his annual review, 'Perseus' could speak of a 'Moral of Recovery'.**(52)**

THE SUPPORTERS' CLUB AND GROUND IMPROVEMENTS

Plans were also emerging to develop the Shareholders' Association into a 'Shareholders' & Supporters' Club', a group which might assist the club in improving facilities. The Shareholders' Association was closely involved in running the junior teams and lobbied generally for ground improvements. The roofing of the Spion Kop end had been proposed ever since it had been opened. In August 1927, an estimate for £1,250 was received, and the following year it was decided to 'redeck' the Kop in Columbian Pine.**(53)** A supporters' club would be a means of harnessing their enthusiasm in a way not detrimental to the directors' interests, and the board gave its assent in January 1933.**(54)** The 'North End Supporters' Club' had the 1922 Guild Mayor as chairman, and listed its laudable 'Objects' as: **(1) To promote measures calculated to benefit the club, and to suppress anything detrimental to the club's interests. (2) To promote an increasing interest in the welfare of the club, and to render financial assistance by organising social functions, indoor and outdoor. (3) To discourage unseemly behaviour and barracking of individual players during the progress of any game.(55)**

Its first crusade was to assist in the reconstruction of the Town End covered terrace, which was destroyed by fire in March 1933. This calamity was reported to the board along with a demand from Martins Bank that the overdraft be cut to £10,500 - its lowest level. Luckily, the structure had been well insured, and the club received £3,188. The new cover was 'to be erected at minimum cost', and a tender of £1,900 was accepted, to be paid for in 'easy payments'.**(56)** The supporters quickly 'expressed themselves as not being desirous of being responsible for the building of the proposed stand in its entirety', and the board refused to accede to their request that they might be allowed to hire cushions for the hard wooden seats in the West stand.**(57)**

James Taylor had been planning the development of a grandstand on the popular east side of the ground for some years. On 4 April 1934, he outlined his scheme to the board, but he had no clear idea how it should be paid for. He did not want it to be financed out of revenue as the 1922 improvements had ended up being.**(58)** The 1934 AGM was dominated by discussion of the scheme, since the club had still a debit of £22,000 on the Profit and

James Taylor's 1935 Pavilion.

This shot of Bobby Foster in action during the 1952 Preston Guild game against the Swiss side Servette, provides a fine view of the old Pavilion without its later South Pavilion extension. A small, neat structure located on the centre line, it boasted a lift, and a remarkable clock. The latter led to charges in the press that the club had a team of 'clock watchers'. (Preston North End)

Loss account. Mr. Fazackerly was appointed architect, and when it was realised that the new pavilion would cost over £8,000, Taylor recommended that 'we leave the same in abeyance until early next year'. It was saved by the remarkable business acumen of his fellow directors: 'Mr. E. Bradshaw suggested that the scheme be proceeded with and financed from outside the auspices of the club'. After a discussion it was proposed that a new company, 'Preston North End (Pavilions) Ltd' be formed. It was to have a capital of almost 10,000 redeemable £1 preference shares, paying 6% a year - a good return since the return on government stocks had fallen to 3.5%. The pavilion company would pay PNEFC £500 a year rent, and the latter undertook to buy back £500 worth of shares each year.**(59)**

The new stand was opened officially at the start of the 1935-6 season. In the words of Simon Inglis: **'It was only 50 yards long, built on the half-way line, and had new offices, dressing rooms, an elegant boardroom and guest rooms on three floors, with an electric lift to the top storey'. The result was an eccentric mixture of styles, for the new cover to the Town End was 'as modern as the Pavilion was sumptuous, and the Grand Stand quaint'.**(60) In November 1934 some 330 tubular seats were ordered at 17s-6d each. A fortnight later it was decided to have 'tip up' seats upholstered in blue.**(61)** It was hoped to complete the building in July 1935, and the Supporters' Club offered to pay for its smart 'electric' clocks.**(62)** Entry was to be exclusive, season tickets would cost £6-6s-6d for a named reserved seat, free car parking, and refreshments in the tea room. Unallotted seats on match days would cost 'not less than 7s-6d'. This compared with £4-4s-0d and 6s respectively, in the old directors' box in the West stand.**(63)** Money alone could not however gain access to Taylor's pride and joy. On 1 September 1936 it was decided that the lady members of the Pavilion would be 'allowed to use the lift on match days …Males on application, to be considered'. A set of beautiful stained glass windows, made by the Lancaster firm of Abbotts, was obtained for the boardroom, and the almost religious ambience of that place was completed by the arrival there of the FA Cup in May 1938. The extension of the Pavilion had been envisaged, but the work was delayed. On 28 May 1938, the board gave the go-ahead, and on 26 July Taylor reported that the South Pavilion stand would be ready for the new season. Though the board was much impressed by American trends in the design of sports stadia, and visionary plans at Deepdale envisaged turning the pitch through ninety degrees to locate the Pavilion behind one of the goals, no major additions to the ground were now to be made for nearly sixty years.**(64)**

PROMOTION 1934: 'FIVE MINUTES TO GO NOW MR. TAYLOR'

On 28 March 1933, another fundamental change was made in the running of the club. Each step towards recovery had been matched by a request from Martins Bank to lower the overdraft, so after much discussion the account was moved to the Westminster Bank, who would allow the club £11,500. Nine directors were to provide collateral and guarantees for £1,500 each, making a much larger overdraft possible. Since new houses could be had for £500, this was a considerable sum, but it was hoped that 'Such success will attend the club that the Bank hopes never to have to call on them'.**(65)** The club seems to have enjoyed a more liberal financial regime, and once promotion was won the overdraft was again extended. A satisfactory management structure had at last been arrived at, the team was settled and promising players were about to enter it. The strict financial constraints which had so long held back development, had been eased: these were the solid achievements of 1933.

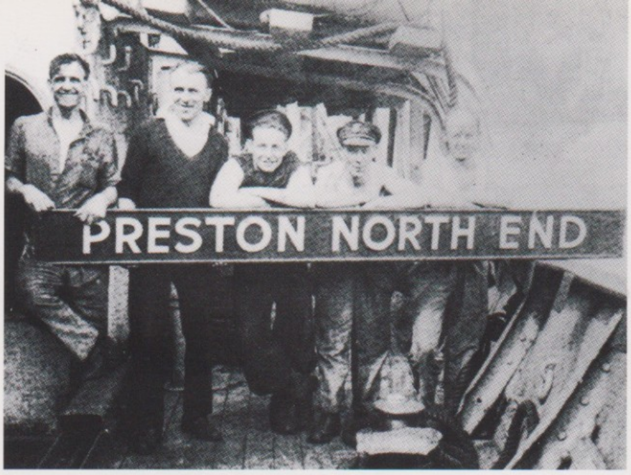
August saw the signing of Torbet from Partick Thistle (£1,150), Stephenson from Sheffield Wednesday (£850), and Shankly from Carlisle United. The latter's signature caused Will Scott some problems, but he came for £6 in winter and £4 in summer, with a signing on fee of £10. Carlisle were paid £350 with a further £150 if the player was signed on for the next season. Once again a key man of the future had been acquired at minimal cost after very detailed 'watching' and analysis.**(66)** To balance these costs, Harper was sold to Blackburn. It was decided to ask for £1,000, but Taylor managed to get £1,300. Early in the new year, with the team going well, two further signings were to be of central importance. On 16 January it was reported to the board that Stoke City would part with Jack Palethorpe, a six-foot centre forward. Taylor signed him for £1,000, and reported that he wanted to sign 'the outside right of Falkirk, James Dougal'. Falkirk wanted £1,250, Taylor paid £880. On 20 February the board was informed that it had signed Frank Beresford for £1,000 from Doncaster Rovers - he was to be paid for with post-dated cheques. Again to balance these purchases Rawlings was sold to Huddersfield for £1,300.**(67)**

Preston North End FC, Division Two Runners Up, 1933-34.
Back Row (L-R): Nisbett, Gallimore, Hough, Holdcroft, Lowe, Milne, Bill Scott. Middle Row: Dougal, Bargh, Kelly, Tremelling, Shankly, Palethorpe, Fitton. Front: Beresford, Bell.
Sporting their new hooped stockings this side at long last managed to return the club to the First Division, courtesy of Jack Palethorpe's epic goal at Southampton. Both George Bargh and Jimmy Milne would continue to serve the club for another 40 years. (National Football Museum)

With the defence secured, the signing of Palethorpe, who had scored 38 goals the previous season, was an important boost. February saw a string of good wins, leading 'Perseus' to remark: **I have never seen a better team spirit ... the turn in their fortunes in games away from home with the coming of the New Year has given them a new confidence in their ability, and anyone who has seen them in vital matches recently will testify to their zeal and understanding in a common cause.(68)** On 27 February a writer to the local press urged the employment of 'packers' with megaphones to avoid gaps in the terraces. A very good Cup run saw the club reach the sixth round, where they were beaten 1-0 at Deepdale by Leicester City. In the circumstances, this probably was the perennial blessing of allowing them 'to concentrate on the league'. The foresight of the ground improvements in 1922 now became apparent. The fifth round game against Northampton Town was seen by a record 40,180 people; and 38,605 people paid £3,406-14s-7d to see the Leicester match. These figures were well above the record 29,380 for the pre-1922 ground, set in 1920 against Bradford City. Mitchell, the bespectacled keeper of 1922, now living in Leicester, drew the correct conclusions from the game; 'Last year Preston started a definite team building policy and the result we can see in the success attained this season'.**(69)**

Despite a series of defeats approaching Easter, Palethorpe continued to get important goals; and a 1-0 victory at Hull was greeted by 'disgraceful scenes' as the referee was showered with cushions and orange peel. By the last game of the season, and with Grimsby Town promoted, three teams were in with a chance - Bolton (50 points), North End (50) and Brentford (49). Bolton had to win to go up. The Football Post reported that Bolton and North End had both drawn, so that Bolton were promoted. Even the press can make mistakes, and to 'Perseus's' eternal shame his paper had reported the final score incorrectly! North End had in fact won. Palethorpe was the hero: **At Southampton the barricade behind the goal is near the touchline, and when Palethorpe crashed into it he was laid out. 'Billy' Scott, the trainer, told me afterwards that he had never seen a bruise spread so quickly. It was his left knee that suffered. Scott stuffed cotton wool into the wound and bound it quickly to keep the swelling down. For half an hour the player could only limp: he was obviously in pain and badly shaken, yet when his chance came he did not hesitate. There was a grand shot and save, a quick follow up and the ball was in the net. Palethorpe collapsed into the arms of his delighted colleagues. Later on I saw the bandages taken off. His knee had swollen to twice the normal size.(70)**

The match had kicked off 15 minutes after the Bolton v. Lincoln game, and Taylor had arranged for the score to be relayed by telephone to the Dell. As Southampton turned up the pressure, Taylor went to sit on the bench with Scott, and was calling out the score to the team. Fitton was the nearest player to them, on the wing, and he ran around passing on the score. When Taylor called out, 'Bolton have played a draw', he was seen to run all over the field, to the consternation of the south coast men. As Scott recalled: **I almost wore the face off my watch telling Mr. Taylor how long there was to play. I remember saying, 'Five minutes to go now Mr. Taylor,' he replied, 'Oh! Will, you told me six minutes to go about ten minutes ago'.** Tremendous scenes followed the final whistle, and the ball was given to goalkeeper Holdcroft.**(71)** At Deepdale, the North Enders gathered for a reserve match and wrongly informed of the result, could only go into mistaken mourning. The team spent the night in a London hotel, and a huge crowd welcomed them home. The Mayor led the team onto the balcony of the Town Hall, and addressing 10,000 people in the market place, James Taylor could refute the persistent allegation that the club did not want promotion, rather, there had been 'a steady build up at the club ...the result of a plan'.**(72)**



THE CREW OF THE GY 82.
(NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

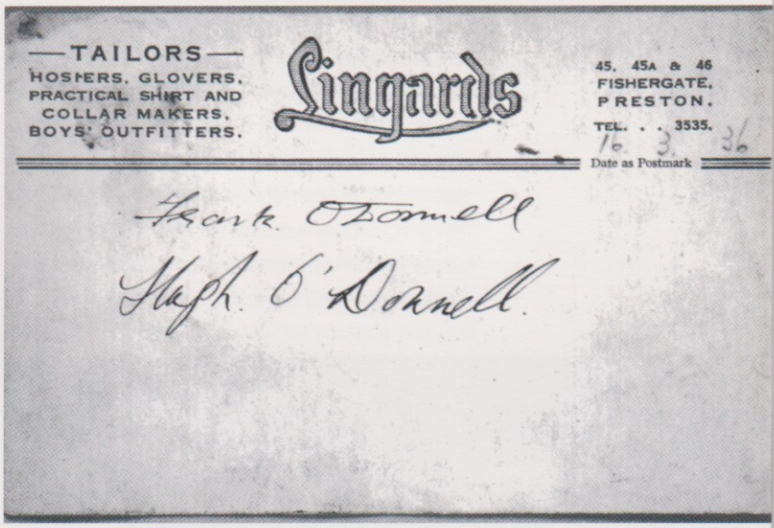
GY 82 AND NORTH END'S SHINING STAR

Promotion had a critical impact of the bank's perception of the club's future prospects. Confidence had been restored. Gates revived, the 'value' of the club's player assets could be marked up, and so team building now went into a higher gear. On 8 May the secretary reported the receipt of numerous congratulatory telegrams, and the board decided to ask the bank for an extension of the overdraft to £14,000. A week later it was extended by £1,000 to pay off the debt on Palethorpe and Beresford. Will Scott was given £50. Three weeks later it was extended to £13,500, and 'a day's outing' was arranged for 'players, their wives and lady friends'.**(73)** In August, financial confidence in the company was further strengthened when a new lease for Deepdale was negotiated with the corporation, fixing the rent at £50 for 21 years.**(74)** There was a general clear-out of players, and a number of short-term signings were made to strengthen the squad. A major acquisition was Bud Maxwell of Kilmarnock for £3,850 - the largest sum Preston had paid for a player since the 1920's. In the previous two seasons the centre forward had scored 65 goals in 68 games for his club.

On 6 June, James Taylor was informed by Sir John Marsden, chairman of the Consolidated Fishing Company Ltd, of Grimsby, that the firm had named a trawler Preston North End. On 29 August the first box of fish arrived at Deepdale enroute for the hospital.(75) Consolidated Fisheries had begun to name their boats after First Division teams in 1933, with the Arsenal (GY 505) and Huddersfield Town (GY 521). With their promotion Grimsby Town and Preston North End followed. GY 82 was built at Smith's Yard, Middlesbrough, and her official number was 162883. She was 157 feet long, 26.7 feet broad, her depth was 12.7 feet, and she weighed 419 tons gross, 159 tons net. Many boats in the first series of 'football clubs' were lost during the war, including Blackburn Rovers (GY 102), which was probably sunk by a mine in the North Sea in June 1940. Preston North End steamed on.(76) She was lost on 14 April 1950, stranded on the Geirfugladrangar Reef, south-west of Eldy Saeberg, Iceland. The boat had sailed from Grimsby on 1 April, with her crew of 21 under the command of Jack East. Once GY 82 hit the reef the order to abandon ship was given, and ten men managed to get into her lifeboat. This began to sink, and the men had to bail all night to keep her afloat, until they could be taken off by a Hull trawler, the Bizerta. The remaining men managed to leave Preston North End at daybreak, and she 'was a total loss'. One man died of exposure, but twenty men survived. Her ensign now finds a place of great honour in the Football Museum at Deepdale.(77)

The seasons 1934-5 and 1935-6 saw North End make the transition to First Division football with few difficulties, finishing eleventh and seventh respectively. In 1935-6, the team started badly, but ended just four points off runners-up spot. The club's Cup form which had revived in 1932, continued to be impressive. The sixth round was again reached in 1935, where North End lost to that season's beaten finalists, West Bromwich Albion. Sheffield United were the stumbling block in 1935-6, and they also went on to become the beaten finalists!

A number of key players were signed in these years. On 12 February 1935, 'it was reported that a well recommended player named Andrew Beattie of Inverurie Loco would be here for trial on Thursday'. At the end of February, Mr. Taylor and other directors visited Scotland to sign the player, 'who they are much taken with'. Taylor had authority to pay up to £350, and Beattie was signed on 5 March for £150.(78)



—TAILORS—
HOSIERS, GLOVERS,
PRACTICAL SHIRT AND
COLLAR MAKERS,
BOYS' OUTFITTERS.

Lingards

45, 45A & 46
FISHERGATE,
PRESTON.
TEL. . . 3535.

16. 3. 36
Date as Postmark

Frank O'Donnell
Hugh O'Donnell.

A souvenir of a visit by the Brothers O'Donnell to a fashionable outfitters.
(National Football Museum)

On 7 May, 'JIT asked as to the future policy of the club as regards team building ...Unanimously Resolved that £10,000 be expended on the replenishing of our playing resources'.(79) A week later his target was clear. He wanted the O'Donnell brothers, Hugh and Frank, from Celtic. The club asked £7,000; Taylor paid £5,000, with £1,000 down and monthly payments of £500. The brothers had an affinity both on and off the field, and Taylor had been determined to have both.(80) In their first season they scored 28 goals. Triumphalism now became a feature at the company AGM. In 1935, Taylor spoke of 'the club's star beginning to shine brightly'. The club had won promotion 'rather unexpectedly', but their half-back line of Shankly, Tremelling and Milne, in front of the 'ultimate defence' of Holdcroft, Gallimore and Lowe, had seen them through. It was now policy to strengthen the attack. The club's financial position had greatly improved. Gates had risen to more than 21,000, Cup receipts had been good, and 'income' had risen to its largest amount since 1922. Because the wage bill was stable, a profit of £3,280 had been made, despite spending £8,460 on players, and reducing the debt to the bank from over £11,000 to under £7,500.**(81)** In the years 1933-5 some £13,800 was added to the net cost of the playing staff. When the players requested an advance on their wages, they were refused, but the board later gave them an extra 1s a week, taking the wages of Shankly, Dougal & Co. to £8-7s-6d.**(82)**

Jimmy Dougal and Frank O'Donnell discover antiquarian interests in the Pavilion boardroom.
(National Football Museum)

The season 1935-6 saw the signings of Joe Beresford from Aston Villa (£3,000) and Willie Fagan from Celtic (£2,850). In October 1935, James Taylor indicated that he wished to step down from his post of chairman of the all powerful Management Committee, and it was decided to appoint a manager. As the district was scandalised by the details of the trial of the murderer Dr. Ruxton of Lancaster, and as German troops re-entered the Rhineland, the search for a suitable man began. Tom Muirhead was introduced to the shareholders at their 1936 meeting. He was in an enviable position, for the club's greatest profit had just been posted (£8,336-15s-9d) and a superb team assembled. It was reported that, 'The present management Committee will give him their full co-operation'.**(84)** Thomas Allen Muirhead (1897-1979), a wing half, had a distinguished career with Rangers, playing 352 games (49 goals) from 1917-30. He had won eight caps, eight championship medals and a Scottish Cup Winner's Medal. In June 1931, he had been appointed the St. Johnstone manager, leaving this post for Deepdale in April 1936. After a successful year at Preston he surprisingly resigned and became a successful sports journalist.**(84)**

KEEP RIGHT ON TO THE END OF THE ROAD; WEMBLEY 1937

The side continued to evolve. In December 1936, Tom Smith was signed from Kilmarnock (£2,850) as the long-term replacement for centre half Tremelling, and Andrew Beattie, finding his progress blocked by Jimmy Milne, developed as a right back. With nine Scots, a Scottish manager and the team reckoned to be 'safe' in the First Division, attention switched to the FA Cup. North End were drawn at home for their first three rounds, seeing off Newcastle United 2-0, Stoke City 5-1, and Exeter City from the Third Division (South) 5-3. The sixth round brought an away draw at Tottenham Hotspur. A good 3-1 win saw North End progress to the Semi-finals, and a game against the 1889 Cup Final harbingers West Bromwich Albion, to be played at Highbury. North End strongly protested at this choice of a ground, but to no avail. Many were forced to drive through the night to London, and the directors left by the morning train, convinced that this was to be North End's year. It was thought that 2,000 North Enders made the trip. 'Many Preston supporters wore club colours in their button holes, while others had coloured paper hats and rattles' reported the Post.**(85)**

When Tom Muirhead was asked what more the team could possibly want, he replied 'Rain!'. The skies over Highbury opened up. A huge audience could follow the match by radio, though the club had originally opposed wireless transmissions of their games. The commentary on this match was provided by the Midland Regional station, who gave the impression that North End's 4-1 win had been a miserable affair, which it might have been for them. Perhaps sensing a rising rival, the Lancashire Daily Post said that radio commentary 'should be immune from any suggestion of local bias', and mustered a great array of press accounts to counteract the broadcast: 'I cannot remember seeing a Semi-final won so decisively. Frank O'Donnell was the master player', (Daily Mail), and, 'Preston were masters of West Brom, and past masters of the art of soccer' (Sunday Graphic). The old enemy had been three goals down in 20 minutes.**(86)**

During the following week Frank O'Donnell and Andy Beattie were called up by Scotland. This had been a shock for young Beattie (23), who had been met in the street and given the news by Jimmy Milne; 'I never thought I would be in the running, and I cannot believe it yet'.**(87)** The great scramble for North End's 10,000 Wembley tickets now began, and Cup Fever swept the town. Horrockses closed their mills, and many women were keen to see the Coronation decorations in London. To prevent an influx of supporters' wives and girl friends at the expense of regular supporters, efforts were made to ensure that only lady season ticket holders received tickets. For £1-10s Scout Motors, of Starchhouse Square, offered 'a late dinner, room and breakfast, and travel to Wembley, London and return'. Day tickets on the railway were 16s-6d.**(88)** Tickets went first to the season ticket holders, and then to organised parties. A massive bureaucracy developed: **Supporters wishing to travel by private car must write now to the club's offices at Deepdale, giving their names and addresses, the registration number of their car, the names and addresses in each case of every passenger.(89)** The result was chaos; and when all the tickets had gone the office door was bolted and the telephone disconnected. As ever, 'People who hope to get tickets now must rely upon influence with friends'. On 17 April, Scotland beat England 3-1 at Hampden Park. O'Donnell scored the equaliser, and young Beattie acquitted himself well.

Taylor and Scott basked in the reflected glory. Will Scott was now full of praise for his charges: **Our players do not have to be told what is good for them. Nine of our first team do not smoke, and all are well behaved fellows. I do not think there is a hotel whose manager has not passed a remark about their good behaviour...** James Taylor now emerged as the club's saviour, his signing of Harper and Rowley fast passing into legend. In the Lancashire Daily Post 'Perseus' proclaimed: **He is undoubtedly an outstanding personality in football. He loves the game for its own sake, and I do not think I will ever meet anyone who understands it better or one better able to handle the players and get the best out of them. He is a father to them, and no-one has left Deepdale without holding him in very high esteem.** A saviour of his people; a special insight

One of the Pavilion's set of four stained glass windows.
The board spared no expense in fitting out their new headquarters. Most remarkable of all was the series of windows commissioned from the well known firm of Abbott & Co. of Lancaster at a cost of £146-7s-7d. More used to making windows for churches, the firm rather disconcertingly despatched the order to the Preston North End Rugby Football club! (National Football Museum)

which sets him apart from other men; talented and loyal lieutenants; it is doubtful if Dr. Goebbels' propaganda ministry could have improved much on this. In fact, the ticket shambles had brought the board even more criticism than the sale of Alec James.(90)

Interviews were published with the players and their wives. Shankly thought: **North End on their day are as good a team as you can find in England, and will give Sunderland a battle. The Roker boys are a great side, but we have a good chance on present form. They can only play as well as they are allowed.** The rest is up to us. Jimmy Milne was cautious: **'If we play in anything like the form we showed against the Albion we should win. But it will be a tougher game, for Sunderland are bonny fighters. I can't see there being much scoring'.** The wives were looking forward to seeing London, and Mrs Tremelling was keen to 'see her husband's image in Madam Tussauds'. Mrs Milne was not going to Wembley, 'because her baby is too young to leave. Naturally she would have liked to see her husband play in the Cup Final, but she feels her duty is at home with her baby son'. She was not building up any false hopes, and Tom Muirhead also gave North End only a 50-50 chance: **It is the blend of Scotsmen's craft and football shrewdness with the qualities of their English colleagues that weighs one's personal feelings in favour of a North End victory.(91)**

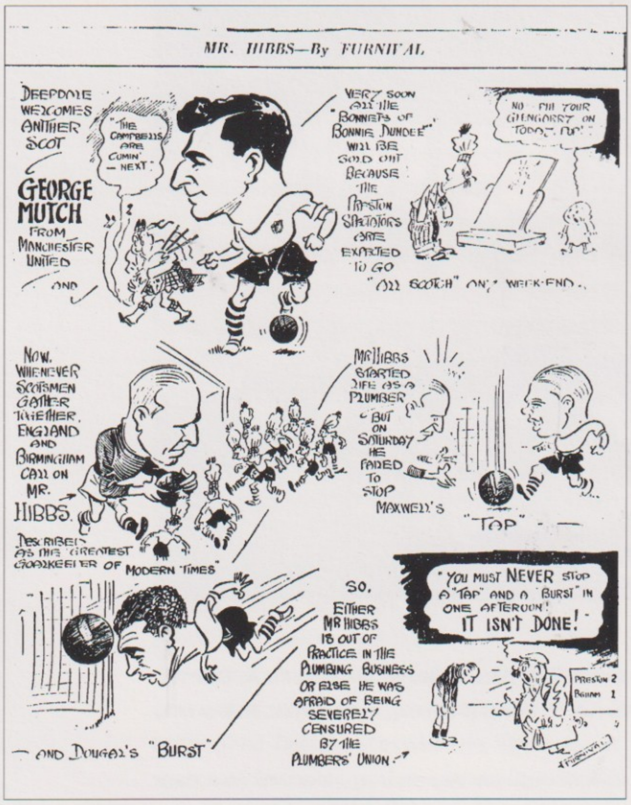
A migration to the south on a scale not seen since Bonnie Prince Charlie's army left Preston in November 1745 now began. A large crowd saw the team off from the station. Fog signals on the line signalled the engine's arrival, and there were 'kisses and cheers' for the team. The players turned up for the train singly, cases in hand. Those who were not protected by their wives were mobbed by their female admirers. The 'Scotch Express' had been despatched from Perth, and the former St. Johnstone manager found his seat adorned with a 'Good Luck Tom' message from the Perth station staff. From villages and towns all over the great northern kingdom parties began to make their way south. Jimmy Milne's father, friends and relatives left the City of Dundee via the high girders of the Tay bridge; three more O'Donnell brothers were said to be on their way; Dougal's mother and father were coming from Denny. Beattie's father was journeying from Aberdeen, and the fathers of Burns and Gallimore would be present. Some 15,000 North Enders left Preston, 10,000 of them by train. A vast army of motorists set out, many of them from the North End stronghold in the Kendal area. 'The Potteries and Watling Street' was reckoned to be the best route. Somehow friends at other clubs had found a further 5,000 tickets for them!(92)

North End stayed at the Chateau de Madrid, Northwood, and on the eve of the game James Taylor went to wish the Sunderland boys well at Bushey. The trains were packed: **For more than six hours people indulged in community singing, rang bells, sounded motor horns and rattles in the general din. One man wearing a white smock which bore the words 'Play up Preston' was a feature of the party.** Despite the solemn injunctions, many women made the trip, and it later came as a shock to the board that male North Enders might prefer the company of their wives and girl friends to that of their fellow supporters. Indeed 'a pretty young women' on one train caught the eye of one of Brierley's assistants 'Hermes', who was much taken by the black kitten which she was taking to Wembley for luck, in addition to her other attractions…(93)

The club's Cup Final goalkeeper's hoodoo struck again: Holdcroft was injured. The team was Burns, Gallimore and Beattie, Shankly, Tremelling and Milne, and Dougal, Beresford, O'Donnell (F), Fagan and O'Donnell (H). Bob Batey was the 'first team reserve'. The North End Cup Final song, 'Keep Right On To The End Of The Road' rolled round Wembley, and Frank O'Donnell gave them a first-half lead with 'a fast, low, oblique shot'. The game turned on half-time, and with Gallacher and Carter playing well, Sunderland came back to win 3-1. James Taylor was devastated; and Shankly, to his amazement saw him emotional for the first time.

Regaining his composure he congratulated the men, and correctly predicted that as in 1888 North End would be back the following season. Perhaps, thought Shankly, the great man was human after all. Taylor was much criticised later for having preferred Tremelling to Smith as centre half. The former was nearing the end of his career, and this would be his last chance of a Cup Winner's Medal. The town put on a great reception for the team, all that was missing was the Cup. Tremelling had the last word: **I may say that now we have found the way to Wembley next time we get there we mean to do our best to bring the Cup back, and I think we shall do.** Little noticed at the time, this had been the world's first televised Cup Final.(94)

The 1937 AGM saw the board once again engulfed by criticism. Tom Muirhead had resigned, apparently for personal reasons, and the club was to revert to management by committee. The Cup Final ticket allocation had been a fiasco; why had Mr. Bradshaw's employees received 350 tickets? When one director told the shareholders that they should be grateful to the board for the club's revival, the outcry was predictable: **A Shareholder: 'Who brought it to that pass? Not the Shareholders. North End has been struggling for years. Now that it was on its feet it was a good hobby to be a director'. The Chairman: 'The point is who redeemed the club - the directors'.(95)** Taylor then had to deny strenuously that the board had ordered the team's Cup Final tactics to be changed at half time. On the positive side, the Cup run had generated more than £10,000, produced a profit of almost £7,000, and reduced the overdraft to under £6,000. Team strengthening continued apace. In September 1937, George Mutch was signed from Manchester United (£4,500) and Bobbie Beattie came from Kilmarnock (£4,250). In November there was an outcry when Frank O'Donnell (£4,000) was swapped for Blackpool's Jimmy McIntosh and Dick Watmough. The plan had long been to move Dougal to centre forward. At the same time the club received its second highest fee (£6,500) from the sale of Fagan to Liverpool.


MR. HIBBS—By FURNIVAL
DEEPDALE WELCOMES ANOTHER SCOT
"THE CAMPBELLS ARE COMIN' — NEXT"
GEORGE MUTCH FROM MANCHESTER UNITED
AND
VERY SOON ALL THE "BONNETS OF BONNIE DUNDEE" WILL BE SOLD OUT BECAUSE THE PRESTON SPECTATORS ARE EXPECTED TO GO "ALL SCOTCH" ON WEEK-END.
NO — PUT YOUR GLENGARRY ON TODAY, PA!
NOW. WHENEVER SCOTSMEN GATHER TOGETHER, ENGLAND AND BIRMINGHAM CALL ON MR. HIBBS.
DESCRIBED AS THE "GREATEST GOALKEEPER OF MODERN TIMES"
MR HIBBS STARTED LIFE AS A PLUMBER
BUT ON SATURDAY HE FAILED TO STOP MAXWELL'S "TAP" —
— AND DOUGAL'S "BURST"
SO. EITHER MR HIBBS IS OUT OF PRACTICE IN THE PLUMBING BUSINESS OR ELSE HE WAS AFRAID OF BEING SEVERELY CENSURED BY THE PLUMBERS' UNION
"YOU MUST NEVER STOP A "TAP" AND A "BURST" IN ONE AFTERNOON! IT ISN'T DONE!"
PRESTON 2
B'HAM 1
FURNIVAL

Mutch Cometh: One of Bill Furnival's Cartoons.

(National Football Museum)

In 1938 the name of Preston North End was to be on the Cup again, and a second league and Cup 'double' was only to be missed by the narrowest of margins. For the hour of the long awaited second-coming of the Invincibles was at hand.

chapter 8

the best team in great BRITAIN

The season 1937-38 was to be the club's most successful in the twentieth century. The team's appeal reached out to all areas of local society. Banks and public bodies were proud that their officials should be identified as supporters, and the whole town followed the team's every performance.(1) The club came to represent much more than just a sports association.

Preston North End FC, FA Cup Winners 1938.

The New Invincibles: Back Row (l-r) W. Scott, W. Shankly, F. Gallimore, H. Holdcroft, A. Beattie, R. Batey, J. Metcalf. Front Row: R. Watmough, G. Mutch, T. Smith (Captain), J. Maxwell, R. Beattie, H. O'Donnell.

James Taylor's dream of restoring the club to its former position was realised, and the team only narrowly missed achieving the 'Double' for a second time. With the young Tom Finney making steady progress, North End might have gone on to become the outstanding side of the 1940's, had events in Europe not intervened. (National Football Museum)

A number of factors contributed to this. The local press played a large part in mobilising support, through its positive coverage. Long gone was the withering criticism of the board, and their frosty interviews with Mr. Brierley. The wireless brought games increasingly into every home, and the players acquired a film-star tinge when the Movietone News featured them at the local cinema. This emergence of the country's finest 'footballing' side now facilitated a further unfolding of James Taylor's grand design. Deepdale would be promoted as the natural centre of footballing excellence throughout mid and north Lancashire, breaking out of the bounds even William Sudell had set for it. With the emergence of the motor car in the thirties and adequate parking behind the West stand, the natural love of the game at its exciting best could be tapped over a wide area, and support became particular strong in the south Lakeland area. The media, therefore, so carefully nurtured by the club, played a particular part in this success. And of course North End News sold newspapers.

North End's recovery mirrored that of the general economy. By May 1937 unemployment had fallen steadily to under one and a half million. In Britain a housing boom led the investment recovery, and the growth in the availability of new property in the Preston district had been apparent since 1930. The opening of the enormous Courtauld's rayon plant at Red Scar provided 4,000 jobs, and re-armament revived the town's engineering base, provided thousands of jobs and laid the basis of the post-war aircraft industry. The effects of the slump had not been universally bad, and the wages of those still in work did not fall, but with the depression of prices they rose relatively and then absolutely. The leisure sector continued to expand, the motor and electronic industries took-off, and entertainments of all kinds prospered. In Preston the move out of town to new homes, and the availability of jobs in new industries rapidly gathered pace after 1936. Holidays became more general, and by the late thirties Blackpool was often said to be 'Preston-on-Sea'. An optimistic mood was about, and the club's Cup runs caught it perfectly. In 1937, London onlookers were struck by the well-dressed appearance of the Prestonians. The rising tension in Central Europe, the Austrian Anschluss in March and the Czech crisis in the summer gave a further incentive to enjoy what had essentially become the nation's May football festival.

Over and above these factors, the 'New Invincibles' were a superb side to watch. 'Playfair' praised a deeper footballing revolution at Deepdale: **I bow to Mr. James Taylor, the builder and enlightened leader of the North End, in admiration of his courage in departing from the conventions which have been established in recent years. He has broken away from the Arsenal system of the stopper and fast raiding wing forwards.(2)** At the end of the season 'Perseus' developed this theme: **In the first part of the winter the side was no more than a useful one, stronger in defence than before, with moments and moods of power in attack, but of no real blend, and without sufficient striking force. The arrival of Mutch began the transformation. Then came Robert Beattie, followed by the transfer of Dougal from outside right to centre forward ...It was entirely an attacking revolution. The defence remained static, especially when Holdcroft was permanently restored to his place under the bar.(4)**

GROUND IMPROVEMENTS AT DEEPDALE, 6 JULY 1937.
DURING THIS WORK THE EXTREME FULWOOD END OF THE PITCH WAS RAISED 2' 3". (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

The depth of Taylor's tactical understanding of the game, is perhaps best revealed by the transformation of Jimmy Dougal from winger to centre forward. Dougal himself was amazed to be told that he had been signed as a centre forward, and the club was prepared to wait some years for his true talent to emerge. Taylor's system based on Dougal's 'unorthodox darting style' was rather revolutionary for the time, and Walter Pilkington later suggested that he had envisaged the deep-lying centre forward's role later developed by the Hungarians for Nandor Hidegkuti. Dougal was to be a sort of roving centre forward, drawing the opposing centre half out of position, and leaving George Mutch and the other forwards to exploit the resulting spaces in front of goal.(4)

THE NEW INVINCIBLES

At the start of April 1938, Scotland selected four North Enders to play against England (A. Beattie, Shankly, Mutch and Smith). Scotland won 1-0, and North End still managed to beat Derby County 4-1 on the same day. With three games to play North End, Arsenal and Wolves all had 46 points. North End were already in the Cup Final, and a second double was possible. Dougal was injured however, and on 23 April North End were beaten 3-1 by Arsenal at Deepdale. To make matters worse, Jimmy Milne suffered a broken collar bone. The record crowd of 42,494 spent the afternoon booing Arsenal whose game was dominated by 'long and speculative kicking, and by the application of physical superiority'. In the event North End finished third in the League, three points behind the champions Arsenal, but many felt that Dougal's injury had robbed Preston of the title.(5)

North End had made steady progress to the Final, beating West Ham United (3-0), and Leicester City (2-0) in the early rounds. For the fifth round they were drawn away to Arsenal, Shankly more than matched Alec James, and North End won 1-0 in front of a crowd of 70,000. Whilst the BBC reported Hitler's latest dire warnings, the local press carried Taylor's reaction to the game: 'We Fear No-one'.(6)

With this victory the way seemed open to Wembley, and Brentford (3-0) and Aston Villa (2-1, at Bramall Lane) were beaten in the quarter and Semi-finals. After the Brentford game the Lancashire Daily Post, interviewed the key players. These were remarkable at the time for their intimacy: **Milne is a family man - Mrs. Milne had the decorator in, and the baby was asleep when this picture was taken - and our photographer caught him doing a spot of hoeing in the garden (picture of Jimmy Milne awkwardly holding implement surrounded by weeds). His dog, too shy to be snapped, jumped over the gate and made off. Milne's hobby is taking the family out in the car.** An even stranger photograph found Bill Shankly posing in a new jumper in front of a large radio: 'Shankly, unmarried, keen on football (all the year round), golf, fishing in summer, wireless and films, is seen here tuning in at home after a late afternoon breakfast'.(7)

TOM SMITH INTRODUCES KING GEORGE VI TO HIS TEAM MATES.
(NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

The secret Hossbach Memorandum shows that Hitler had moved to a more expansionary policy in November 1937, about the time that North End transferred Frank O'Donnell to Blackpool. The Brentford game was played against the backdrop of Hitler's threats to Austria, which he invaded a week later. Two days after the Semi-final, Henlein, the leader of the Sudeten Germans met Hitler to discuss future events in Czechoslovakia, and the very next day, 29 March 1938, the directors agreed to take the team on a European tour - Paris, Bucharest, Krakow, and 'probably Czechoslovakia'. Two days before the Arsenal league match, Hitler discussed troop movements with General Keitel, and the whole of Europe was gripped by war fears. Taylor, like Prime Minister Chamberlain, was clearly no party to the Fuehrer's plans.**(8)**

The allocation of tickets improved slightly on the previous year, and Taylor was said to be virtually living at Deepdale to deal with it. Some 10,000 people joined organised parties, and some 300 groups were to travel by train. Railway officials put this down to 'improved industrial prosperity'. The event was widely covered by radio, and the team captains appeared on the popular 'In Town Tonight' programme. The players were also recorded by the BBC singing 'Keep Right On To The End Of The Road'! They departed amidst the familiar celebrations, and the front of the engine was decorated with a sheep and a player dancing with the Cup. The auspices were good: the team stayed at the hotel used by the winning Sunderland side the previous year; they were given the victorious 'Scotland' dressing room; and a leading player had broken his collar bone. Dougal had entered hospital, but the Milnes were to see the game and there was a record demand for early morning telephone calls. Large tartan-bedecked crowds, including the Shanklys were reported at Euston Station, as 'North End's Great Army' took possession of London.**(9)**

The match was unexceptional, and went to extra time. Many, fearful that the trains would not wait, left the ground early and missed the drama at the end. The referee, Mr. Jewel, waved away Huddersfield's claim for a penalty in the first-half, but had no doubts later when Mutch was brought down by Young. None of the team seemed keen to take the kick, but once it had been scored all felt they had a hand in it. Shankly told Mutch, 'Just hit the bugger', while Will Scott told the still-shaken player, 'Go on George - keep your head down, and crack it'. Though film footage seemed to support Young's protests, one of his team mates when asked 'Was it an outsider?', replied, 'No, 'twere a good 'un'. In Preston, thousands listening to the radio, ran into the streets as Mutch's penalty went into the net: 'It's a penalty. Mutch has scored'. As with 1922, the feeling persists that referees were under instruction to ensure that the Final did not go to a replay.**(10)**

George Mutch's penalty.

A probable refereeing error punishes Huddersfield Town in an uncanny rerun of the events of the 1922 Final. (National Football Museum)

On the Cup's return to Preston the town went wild, and 30,000 packed the Market Square. For James Taylor, this was his finest hour: **It must have been a great moment for him and his co-directors as their lads brought the Cup home, and the crowd, all their petty grudges forgotten, thundered a welcome that shook the heavens.** The players led by Tom Smith held up the Cup, and then addressed the crowd. Throughout, the cry had been, 'We want Mutch', and he, too, spoke; 'I was nervous that day when I had to take the penalty, but not half as much as I am now'. Then the cry went up for Holdcroft, after which the team took the Cup to the hospital, to show it to the patients, and more poignantly to Jimmy Dougal. Then on to a reserve game at Deepdale, where the visiting Blackpool team joined the party. When night finally came, Smith was at a loss to know what to do with the Cup, so he hid it under a blanket beneath the stairs of his house. Celebrations continued until North End left for their European tour on 9 May. The Cup Final ball was

England's national festival: the Scots parade the Cup.
(National Football Museum)

exhibited in a shop window, still marked by the whitewash from the cross bar which had deflected it into the net.(11)

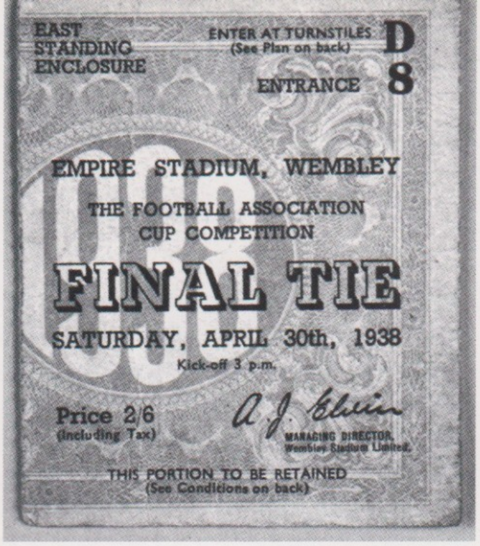
At the Cup Winners' dinner in London, Charles Sutcliffe, president of the Football League, proposed the toast: **The fame of North End, he said, was known in all parts of the world where football was talked about and played. It was a wonderful club ...It did not matter that most of them were Scotsmen - (hear, hear) - but he did object to Scotland collaring four of them at once to beat England in the International (laughter).(12)** James Taylor was very upbeat: 'This is only the beginning. There is no reason to believe that we have finished with success. We have a young side, and our prospects are good for the future'. Two weeks later the Czechs partially mobilised, and four months later Neville Chamberlain flew to Munich. With less than perfect timing North End's tour of Central Europe now began. As Billy Shankly later recalled: **We went all along the Danube. In Munich, we missed Hitler by a day. He'd just left. In Oberammergau they were all wearing beards. I was ignorant, I didn't understand why. It was the Passion Play ... In Budapest, the people were wonderful. In Romania, a man offered Harry Holdcroft his sister in exchange for a ticket to the match.(13)**

The town's triumph was completed a few weeks later, when during the King's visit to Preston, the Queen asked the Mayor, 'Where's the Cup?'.

The threat of war, and particularly Taylor's experience of running the club through the First World War now began to exert a distinct influence on policy making at Deepdale. The great fear was that the suspension of the league would occur when the club had made large payments for new signings. These assets, whose value would not be realised until the end of hostilities, would have to be paid for from company reserves. On the other hand, without a steady level of investment the upsurge in the team's performance could not be maintained. The club seems to have wavered as the threat of war seemed to fade in the autumn of 1938, only to become a certainty in March 1939. As a result the team's league position faltered in 1938-9, but the cost of the new signings did not prove ruinous.

The Cup win had filled Deepdale's coffers. League gates reached their highest level, an average of 22,671, and income of £42,200 comfortably passed the record set in 1921-2. The Cup alone had generated over £13,000; and after a variety of expensive special payments had been made, the club still had a profit of £11,143. The overdraft was eliminated, and replaced by a balance of almost £8,000. The subsequent signings of the centre half, Millar from Celtic (£3,650) as a replacement for the injured Tom Smith, and Graham White for a club record fee from Birmingham City (£5,500), were balanced by the sale of Garrett to Hearts (£4,000), Hughie O'Donnell to Blackpool (£3,000), Bud Maxwell to Barnsley (£2,000 and Williams), and Lowe to Coventry City (£1,740). Taylor displayed his old cunning in signing White, for whom the board was prepared to go up to £7,000.(14)

The following season saw yet another spectacular Cup run which almost completed a hat-trick of Wembley Finals. The end came in the sixth round away to the eventual winners Portsmouth. As Andy Beattie remarked as he entered the dressing room after the game, it was the end of a great Cup run,



EAST
STANDING
ENCLOSURE

ENTER AT TURNSTILES
(See Plan on back)
D

ENTRANCE 8

EMPIRE STADIUM, WEMBLEY

THE FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION
CUP COMPETITION

FINAL TIE

SATURDAY, APRIL 30th, 1938

Kick-off 3 p.m.

Price 2/6
(Including Tax)

A. J. Elvin
MANAGING DIRECTOR,
Wembley Stadium Limited.

THIS PORTION TO BE RETAINED
(See Conditions on back)

More precious than gold:
a 1938 Cup Final ticket.
(National Football Museum)

10 games.**(15)** North End's league form languished in mid-table throughout 1938-9, and at the start of the 1939-40 season the board, under pressure, opted for two new signings, Jimmy Hunter and Jackie Wharton from Plymouth Argyle (£5,000). Yet this self-inflicted wartime debt could have been much greater, for in August 1938: **Mr.Jas.I.Taylor reported that Matthews of Stoke City may now be available for transfer, and it was agreed that the chairman proceed with the question.** A fortnight later it was reported that: **The Matthews question was closed owing to the action of the Stoke City board in refusing the transfer of the player.(16)** In fact the club's finances were very strong, when the league was suspended on 5 September 1939 after just three games.

THE YOUTH POLICY AND THE PLUMBER'S APPRENTICE

The company's remarkable profits since promotion to the First Division, amounting to over £32,000 by the outbreak of war, had been made largely at the expense of the players.**(17)** With the maximum wage and a succession of good Cup runs, North End could successfully challenge the city clubs. A major feature of the 1938 balance sheet, therefore, was the large payment to players: £5,689, in addition to their wages of £12,555. This comprised £1,122 in league bonuses, £584 in 'talent money' for the high league position and the Cup win, and almost £4,000 in benefits and accrued benefits. Players had come to look to their benefit, which became available after five years' service, as an important addition to their earnings. Joe McCall had been granted a benefit in 1920, and had been guaranteed £600, but this was an exceptional sum.**(18)** Payments at Deepdale were usually much lower. When Roberts and Greatorex each married in 1921, for example, the board granted them 10 guineas.**(19)** The club began to acquire houses in a big way in the mid-twenties, and this property portfolio expanded further under Nat Buck's guidance. Indeed, in August 1927 the board disclosed a previously unsuspected concern for its players' home comforts by ordering gas cookers for Messrs Reid, James and Russell. On the other hand, Alec James was given orders to vacate his house in Sherbourne Crescent, promptly, on leaving the club's employ.**(20)**

The question of benefits was an endless source of dispute, and payments of all kinds were carefully scrutinised by the Football League. In April 1936, the board raised the level of benefit payments from £400 to £550, but the players wanted, and got, £650. By this time the key signings since 1931 had been at Deepdale five years, and in 1937-8 payments were made to Holdcroft, Milne, Dougal, Gallimore and Shankly. In November 1937 Taylor suggested 'a little function at Fulwood Golf Club' as appropriate to the presentation to Milne. When players left before completing their five years, the 'accrued benefit' would be paid, so that when Frank O'Donnell was sold to Blackpool in 1937, he received £244. Presents were generally given to departing managers and staff, who also received 'suitable Xmas presents', often in the form of earthenware items, presumably from Mr. Taylor's stock! Yet the magnanimity of the Preston North End board was not to be taken for granted, as no less a figure than Tremelling found out. In November 1937, he decided to retire, and took the post of secretary-manager at Bloomfield Road. The directors decided to give him a present of £50, but changed their minds when they discovered that he intended to play for the Seasiders. His subsequent wish that he 'would like the board to do something for him', fell on deaf ears.**(21)**

The club chairman, Sir Meyrick Hollins, died a few weeks after the 1938 triumph, and his place was taken by James Taylor. With a successful team, an adequate ground, and plentiful funds available, Taylor was now able to develop the third strand of the plan of the 1912 progressives, by creating a youth policy that would permanently sustain North End's place among the leading clubs. Systematic attempts to rationalise the club's recruitment of players had begun in the mid-1880's, when efforts were made to exploit the town's natural pool of talent. One of the arguments put forward for the employment of a 'manager' in the years before the Great War was the need to 'get hold of talent in the rough', and to develop younger players to league standard.(22) Only in this way, it was felt, could the club compete with the richer clubs. In 1922, it was decided to start a third team for amateurs, to be quite separate from the professional first eleven and the Central League side of reserves. Players could be given a trial with the club without 'chopping and changing' the full-time sides, and the third team would act as a nursery.(23) Though welcomed by the shareholders, who had long advocated such a scheme, the project was deemed 'a great failure both in financial and playing senses' within only a year. Instead the club was to use the Dick,Kerr's side as a nursery: **North End will have a call upon all of their players under the arrangement, and could send any player they wished to be given a trial, to figure in the Combination team.** It was further announced that Preston had a similar arrangement with an un-named Scottish club, 'upon all of whose players they had a call, and could have for a month's trial at very little cost'.(24)

James Taylor had close links with both youth football, and the Central League. His return to the board in 1925 was marked by an immediate shake-up of scouting and 'nursery' provision. In June 1925 it was decided that his 'watchers' were to be paid 10s to 15s weekly, plus travelling expenses. The identities of these agents remain obscure, but in November 1927, a letter of appreciation was sent to a Mr. Morrison of Kirkcaldy 'for his very kind services to this club'. In 1934, North End appointed a Scottish representative, John Kerr of Hamilton, who was to be paid £1-10s a week.(25) June 1925 also saw the establishment of a new third team, under Taylor's charge, to play on the Festival Ground in Church Road, Leyland. This was a side for 17- and 18-year olds too young for the Central League, and by 1927 they were training at night by arc lamps. Many problems remained. The lads were dissatisfied by their lack of opportunity in the higher teams, for which the selectors played men out of position rather than bringing in specialist understudies from the juniors. Yet although the scheme was expensive (at £250 to £400 a year) it had brought players through.(26) The Shareholders' Association provided keen scouts for the club, and about 150 boys a year were being given trials in the early thirties. The year 1931 saw a move from Leyland to the Dick,Kerr ground, and the appointment of Lincoln Hyde, a manager with a good record of working with young players.(27)

THE PRESTON SCHOOLBOYS, PRESTON STATION, 1936.

THE TOWN BOYS' TEAM REACHED THE FINAL OF THE ALL ENGLAND SCHOOLS' SHIELD COMPETITION JUST AS TAYLOR'S YOUTH POLICY WAS GATHERING PACE. OVER THE YEARS IT, AND ITS SUCCESSORS, WOULD PRODUCE SOME FINE PLAYERS, BUT NONE QUITE LIKE THE QUIET SMALL BOY IN SHORTS STANDING TO THE LEFT ON THE ENGINE'S BUFFERS. (PRESTON NORTH END FC)

North End's playing revival in the 1930's was based on a policy of purchasing older established players for fees of around £2-3,000 for specialist positions in the short-term, while grooming young prospects at little cost. Though a fair proportion of the bought-in players stayed only a short time, the 'watchers' proved their worth, identifying Gallimore, Milne, Shankly, Dougal, Andy Beattie and Fairbrother, among many others. Yet by 1936 it was reported that clubs were asking £3-4,000 for junior players. The answer seemed to be to run youth teams directly from Deepdale, so that team building funds could be expended on really outstanding prospects. The times were very propitious, for 1936 saw the Preston Schools' side become joint winners with West Ham United of the All England Schools' Shield tournament. The side's non-playing reserve was the tiny Tom Finney.

In February 1938, the club decided to greatly expand their involvement in schoolboy soccer. North End offered to equip the whole of the junior section of the Preston & District league 'up to an approximate cost of £250' and to run four teams themselves, two each for 14-16, and 16-19 year olds.(28) By 1939, Taylor could boast that 'the nucleus of a fine team' had emerged. The Northern Mid-Week team had won both their cup and league championship, while, 'the junior 'A' and 'B' and the juvenile 'C' and 'D' teams also won most of the honours in their respective spheres... They are a credit to the club'. The chairman explained the club's policy: **We have endeavoured and are endeavouring to develop all our young players. In the early stages, at 15, 16, and 17 they are sometimes called prodigies, but unfortunately it often goes when they are 16 or 17 ...We are concerned only with players we think will make the grade. It is no use persevering with juniors if they are only going to be first-class second-class players.(29)** When the war halted the league programme, and drew increasing numbers of players into the Forces, North End used their experience of the First War to good effect. They turned to the whole-hearted development of their young players, nursed the bank balance, and awaited the coming of peace.

OFLAG DEEPDALE AND HMS PRESTON NORTH END

Active preparations for the coming war had been underway in the Preston district since the mid-thirties, with particular attention to the danger of air attack.(30) In September 1935, the Preston police were photographed exercising at Deepdale in their gas-proof suits and gas masks.(31) The board was strongly opposed to making political pronouncements, and a few weeks later, 'The secretary having read a letter re the International match, England V. Germany, from the British Non Sectarian Anti Nazi Council, it was agreed that the same lie on the table'.(32) As late as August 1938, they refused to allow ARP notices to be displayed in the ground, but by 15 November the board was prepared to intervene directly in the affairs of Central Europe, and consented to send an 'Address of Welcome' to King Carol of Rumania!(33) In March 1939, a 'Moral Re-Armament' broadcast was allowed, and Special Constables were to train behind the Town End on Sunday mornings. The club agreed to draw the players' attention to the Territorial Army, but refused to allow the conscripts at Fulwood Barracks into matches free.(34)

German forces invaded Poland in the early hours of Friday 1 September 1939. As the evacuation of children from urban centres began, North End played their match as normal on the following day, but at 11-15am on Sunday Neville Chamberlain made his depressing broadcast to the British people: 'This country is at war with Germany'. All the directors met at 6-15pm on the fifth, league football was now suspended, and it was agreed that wages would only be paid to the end of the week. There was to be no refund to season-ticket holders. 'Nothing could be done' for Andy Beattie whose benefit was due in March 1940, and the players' contracts were effectively cancelled, though the club still retained their registration: **The chairman agreed that endeavours should be made to secure positions locally, for all the staff desirous of remaining in Preston.** The players were out of work, and their payments for games were reduced to 30s.(35)

Players without a trade now found themselves in straightened circumstances; and as Bobby Beattie recalled: **I tried for many jobs, but when I was asked what experience I had, my chances were nil. I went straight into football from school and had never learned any trade.(36)** Will Scott was amazed at the range of work the North Enders found. Shankly shovelled sand in Tom Croft's sand pit before joining the RAF, Milne joined the regular police, Fairbrother and Hamilton joined the Blackburn force (where the latter subsequently arrested 40 sheep), Andy Beattie became an Army sergeant and a physical training instructor, and Georgie Mutch built aeroplanes.**(37)** One of the most varied careers was that of the future star Charlie Wayman. A miner by trade, he left the pits to become an asbestos roofer, spent three years in the Royal Navy (two of them abroad), then volunteered for the pits, before taking a trial with Newcastle United.**(38)** The trawler GY 82 was also called up by the Navy, to become His Majesty's Ship Preston North End.**(39)**

Four Preston North End players gave their lives in the war: David Willacy (1941), Tommy Taylor (1942), Jack Owens (1943), and Eddie Gore (1944). Jack Darley was reported wounded and presumed a prisoner in 1944. Both David Willacy and Tommy Taylor had families, and the club made a token gift of £75 of War Savings Certificates to their two children.(40)

In contrast to their attitude during the Great War the Government recognised the value of football to morale, and after the immediate scare, regional friendlies were played, and a sort of normality returned with the establishment of the Northern and Southern leagues in season 1940-41. James Taylor now organised a Ladies' Knitting circle at Deepdale to provide comforts for the troops, and with the club's northern agent John Keir, planned to acquire a Scottish junior team. On 23 January 1941 it was reported that Finney had signed professional forms for the club, at 10s per match. At this point, the war disrupted the club's plans disastrously.**(41)** The Inland Revenue began to inquire how the club planned to pay the £4,200 due for the season 1939-40. On 5 March Taylor met the tax men, convincing them that the club would 'pay off the odd £200, then pay £50 a match during the season'. Amazingly, this was agreed to, and in August 1941 payments were changed to £50 a fortnight.**(42)** In September, ARP men had begun to use the stand for meetings, and in October agreed to pay £5 a year for use of part of the West stand.**(43)** Much more alarming was a visit to Deepdale made in June 1940: **The Chairman reported that the ground and premises had been surveyed by a clerk from Major Davison's office, the purpose of which he did not know.(44)**

The blow fell at the start of July. 'The ground and premises had been requisitioned by the military authorities through Major Davison', reported Taylor: **He had endeavoured to influence the decision by various arguments, but had not made the slightest impression. It was doubly serious for the club in as much it would interfere with the progress of our junior team and we might not get use of the ground immediately on the cessation of hostilities. Agreed... That we endeavour to continue to run a team if at all possible... and try to keep, a registered office in the Pavilion stand.** Scott now became a North End spy; he was put on the military payroll, his wages were reduced to 30s, but he could 'keep an eye on things' for the board.**(45)** Immediate efforts were made to obtain as high a rent as possible for the ground and hopes rose to £600, but in May 1941 the figure was fixed at just £250, backdated to December 1940. This covered virtually the whole of the ground, the practice ground, and the Deepdale Road car park.**(46)**

'Perseus' was utterly appalled at this turn of events, and the club now had to find another ground. At the AGM, Taylor explained the problem: 'As there was not a single enclosed ground in Preston which was suitable to receive their opponents the directors had made tentative arrangements with a neighbouring club'. Though the club had made a deficit of nearly £11,000, with £5,600 spent on players, he did not think that the loss of the ground would affect their resources greatly: **They were not committed financially to the professionals on their books,**

who would, however, still remain their assets when football was resumed. On 2 August it was announced that North End would play, not at Ewood as had been expected, but at the Leyland Motors ground. It was hoped that the war-workers in Leyland and Euxton would support the move, since 'In every way, except of course, capacity and lavish provision of stands, the ground is admirably fitted out for such an emergency'.(47)

H.M.S. PRESTON NORTH END

ANTI-SUBMARINE TRAWLER -- 1939 to 1945

419 Tons. Built in 1934 for Consolidated Fisheries, Grimsby
Requisitioned by Admiralty in September 1939
Returned to Owners in 1945
BATTLE HONOURS.......NORTH SEA, 1939 TO 1945

HMS Preston North End.

(National Football Museum)

Troops were stationed at Deepdale for much of the war, and police and military use of parts of the ground continued into 1946. Scott recalled that North End were allowed use of the pitch as early as January 1941, though junior league football returned to Deepdale only in August 1942. The ground was put to many uses, further car parking space was requisitioned, and a cookhouse was erected at 'the rear of the Pavilion press box' in November 1943.(48) Deepdale's most celebrated war service occurred in the earlier stages of the war, when it became a holding area for prisoners of war. The prisoners seem to have been held in the Pavilion, and were allowed to exercise on the pitch. A most deadly and yet celebrated inmate, found himself here in March 1941 - the 'Wolf of the Atlantic' and 'Most dastardly villain of them all', - Korvetten Kapitan Otto Kretschmer.(49)

Born in 1912, the son of a teacher in Lower Silesia, Kretschmer joined the navy at 18, and quickly established himself as one of Doenitz's crack U-boat captains. For his service in the U.23, Kretschmer was awarded the Iron Cross by Hitler himself, but though a Military March was named after him and he became a household name in wartime Germany, he opposed Goebbels's attempts to glorify him. In April 1940 the cigar chain-smoker took command of a new type VII-B boat, the Golden Horseshoe or U.99. His tactics of attacking convoys diagonally on the surface at night and sinking ships with single torpedoes proved devastating. During his attack on Convoy SC7 (34 slow moving merchantmen in eight columns), near the Rockall Bank, 20 ships were lost. Once hit, the heavily laden ships could go down in a matter of seconds, giving the crew no hope of escape. The U.23 and U.99 accounted for some 44 ships, with a notional 266,629 tons, making him the fourth highest U-boat ace of all time.

On 22 February 1941, the U.99 slipped out of Lorient for her eighth and final sailing. On 16 March, Kretschmer penetrated convoy HX112, sinking five ships in an hour. Crash diving after his lookout failed to spot the destroyer HMS Vanoc, and depth charged by HMS Walker, Kretschmer was forced to the surface and abandoned ship. The safety of his crew was his prime concern, and all but three were landed at Liverpool. A strong police guard was needed to protect them as they were marched through the city. Their Kapitan was taken to Preston and locked in the dressing-room at Deepdale. He was searched, given a bath, and slept for 12 hours, before being shaken awake, given a mug of cocoa, and driven to London.(50) His adventures were not yet over, and while interned in Canada he was able to radio for a U-Boat to attempt a failed rescue of his men. Released in 1947, Kretschmer married and joined the West German Navy in 1955. His wife launched the Bundesmarine's first U-boat, the U.1, in 1962. He was promoted to Flotillenadmiral in 1965, and served as a chief of staff with NATO until his retirement in 1970. When captured, the Admiralty's director of anti-submarine measures specifically asked to meet him and was impressed:

'When he left me, I sincerely hoped that there were not too many like him'. Otto Kretschmer died in Spain in 1998.(51)

WARTIME FOOTBALL AND THE SECOND DOUBLE

Though North End were able to rely on a core of the old team of 1938, the war gave fresh opportunity to their young players. Will Scott particularly remembered Tom Finney, Andy McLaren, Jack Fairbrother, Willie Scott, Cliff Mansley, Ken Horton, Tommy Hough and Willie Jessop.(52) McLaren 'a young player of great promise' had been acquired from Larkhall Thistle, for a donation of £50, and by August 1938, 'the boy had been placed on the ground staff at a wage of £2-5s-0d per week'.(53) Jack Fairbrother, Holdcroft's successor in goal, had come from Burton Town in March 1937 for a fee of £110 with a further £100 if he was kept on beyond the end of his first season.(54) Tom Finney had cost nothing. As the war wore on the team steadily lost its older players to the Forces, and the youngsters themselves were called up. Sergeant Andy Beattie was among the first to go, and by the end of 1944 North End had 42 players in uniform. Though this process culminated in the suspension of North End's interest in 'league football' in 1942, the club's reserves allowed it to put out a strong side in the early 1940's, and in 1940-41 North End were reckoned by many to be the strongest British team.

For the season 1940-41, the 68 participating clubs were divided into Northern and Southern leagues. Clubs could choose their own opposition, usually dominated by derby games, and since the procedure was so haphazard, with few clubs playing the same number of matches, their league position was calculated by goal average. The loss of Deepdale made North End's success all the more remarkable. They won 18 of their 29 games and lost just four in a 'division' which included the Liverpool and Manchester clubs, Blackpool, Blackburn Rovers and Burnley. Will Scott could never be sure of his team, and had to play eight youngsters in one game against Manchester United. On another occasion later in the war, Bobbie Beattie looked in to the dressing room before a game, was persuaded to play and was quickly into his kit. At half-time Scott took an urgent phone call from Mrs Beattie, who said that her husband, after promising to take her and their baby for a walk, had nipped out of the house, and disappeared: 'That was Bobby all over; he would play football any time and any where'.(55)

Alongside the two leagues, a Wartime Cup competition was held to replace the FA Cup. It was based on the two regions and played over two legs as far as the Semi-finals. North End progressed to the final via Bury (aggregate 6-5), Bolton (6-2), Tranmere (20-2) Manchester City (5-1), and Newcastle United (2-0). In the first leg against Tranmere at Deepdale, Hugh O'Donnell and McLaren scored five goals each, and the latter got another hat trick against Manchester City. Two penalties from Shankly against Newcastle saw North End into the Final at Wembley against Arsenal. North End's success in both competitions gave each achievement greater credibility despite the circumstances. The general feeling at the time was that North End were the best team in England, so that this was no 'ersatz' cup win, but a continuation of their remarkable Cup form since the early 1930's. Arsenal finished fourth in the southern league, and had beaten the runners-up West Ham United in the third round.(56)

Though a crowd of 65,000 attended the 1941 Cup Final, restrictions of all kinds meant that only about 600 Prestonians could make the trip. Amid some confusion, Andy Beattie who had recently 'guested' for Arsenal, arrived in the dressing-room at literally the last minute, and Cliff Mansley had to take his kit off for him to wear. The team was Fairbrother, Gallimore, Scott, Shankly, Smith, A. Beattie, Finney, McLaren, Dougal, R. Beattie and O'Donnell. Within a few minutes of the start of the game Arsenal had missed a penalty, and McLaren had scored from Finney's cross. Denis Compton equalised, and the game went to a replay at Ewood Park. Conveyances of all kinds transported a large force of North Enders to Blackburn, and the 34,000

Preston North End FC, 1941 War Cup Winners. Back Row (L-R): Will Scott, Shankly, Gallimore, Fairbrother, Beattie, A. Mansley, H. Ross. Front Row: Dougal, Finney, McLaren, Smith (captain), Beattie, R. H. O'Donnell, Scott.
Having drawn at Wembley the Cup Final was replayed at Ewood Park, where 34,000 saw Preston beat Arsenal 2-1. A few days later a double hat-trick from Andy McLaren secured the Championship of the Northern League. A fortnight later Hitler invaded Russia. (National Football Museum)

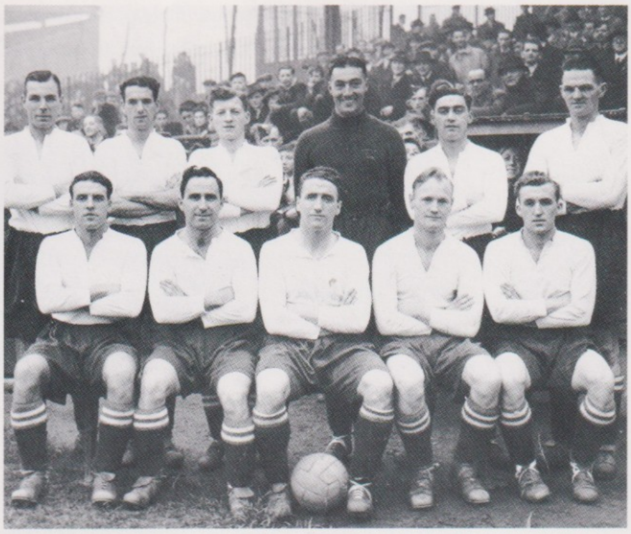
crowd saw Preston win 2-1. Andy Beattie was switched to left back to replace the injured Scott, so that Mansley got his chance. Bobby Beattie was late, having travelled by bus. He insisted on returning home the same way after the game to use up his return ticket. An injury to Ted Drake left North End in control of the match, and Bobby Beattie scored after 50 minutes. Arsenal now seemed to 'accept the inevitable' and when Drake was taken off, North End relaxed; but a shot from Joy struck Gallimore and careered into the North End goal. Walter Pilkington ('Viator') described what happened next: **Within half a minute one more Cup Final had provided its sensation - a fine surprise Dougal-to-Beattie goal without the opposition touching the ball from the kick-off until it was in the net. This was the something North End always had in hand.** The players received War Savings Certificates instead of medals.(57)

The homecoming was a quiet affair, for the world had other matters to attend to. Amid rumours of strong German troop concentrations along Russia's western border, Rudolf Hess had parachuted into Scotland, and a few days before the Final the pocket battleship Bismarck had sunk HMS Hood, before being sunk herself. The Mayor received the players at the Municipal Building, and afterwards, 'some hundreds of people cheered the players as they left in a motor coach, holding the Cup aloft'. James Taylor shrugged off the air of anticlimax: **He reiterated that it was cultured football which had gained for North End the reputation this season of being the best team in Great Britain (Hear, hear)... He now had confident hopes of the side gaining a dual championship, as the Old Invincibles did 33 years before.(58)** Within the week North End had secured the Northern league, thanks to a spectacular double hat trick from McLaren in the 6-1 defeat of Liverpool. Yet even in the press the account of this sensational performance - fit to rank alongside anything a North Ender has ever achieved - was only squeezed in, among stories of tobacco, clothing and egg shortages in Preston.(59)

In many respects, this was J. I. Taylor's finest hour, and though the board tried to put the best face on things, world events now eclipsed everything else. On 22 June, 160 German divisions poured into Russia. The Northern Army Group headed for Leningrad, a Central Group struck towards Smolensk and Kiev, while Von Runstedt's Southern Group poured into the Ukraine. At the AGM in July, Taylor pointed to the club's great success in previous years: **It was a great pleasure to record their success in winning both the League War Cup and the North regional championship… they had emulated the feat of the Old Invincibles.(60)** On the morning of 7 December 1941, 'a day that will live in infamy', Japanese carrier-based aircraft attacked Pearl Harbour. Four days later Hitler declared war on the United States, and the Russian winter counter-offensive began with none of the main German objectives secured. It was the worst winter for fifty years. Events would prove that by failing to knock out the British, and making war on the new world super powers of the east and west, Germany would eventually be devastated. Years of struggle with an uncertain outcome lay ahead. In Preston, the attack on Russia virtually brought the local blitz to an end. Large contingents of the American forces were stationed locally, and the Warton and Freckleton district became known as 'Little America'. In Bamber Bridge, a potentially serious racial disturbance erupted amongst the American troops in June 1943, and 60 people (mostly children) died in August 1944 when an American plane fell on Freckleton School.(61) The town's greatest wartime catastrophe came with the Japanese capture of Singapore, where large numbers of local men were known to have been stationed. Their whereabouts remained a major source of anxiety up to, and beyond, the end of the war in Europe.

In these terrible circumstances, the affairs of a local football club accounted for little, and wartime AGMs occasionally had just one or two shareholders present. Troops on active service throughout the European and Middle Eastern war zones caught occasional glimpses of Preston players. All the football talk was of their remarkable young winger, said to be another Matthews, and of the return to the peacetime game. A broadly similar league format operated for season 1941-42, and North End finished in third place, two points behind the champions, Blackpool. In June 1942, Taylor outlined the problems ahead for the club, and suggested that it should abandon first team football, and run amateur teams. This news was greeted with some consternation, but formed the basis of the club's carefully thought out wartime policy. The chairman explained the new policy at the 1942 AGM: **They remembered the rapid revival after the last war, and the scramble that then took place for players, which resulted in high transfer fees. They wanted to avoid that by paying attention to their young players and being in a position to provide first-class football immediately the war was over.(62)** In fact, this decision was perhaps inevitable, given the loss of Deepdale to the war effort, and the difficulty senior players had in getting to matches.

For the next two years North End dropped out of senior football, and ran two teams in the Preston & District league, and in 1943 a third in the YMCA league. Taylor again defended the policy at the 1943 meeting (the club's 50th) in answer to questions from T. E. Nicholson, the only shareholder who attended. 'If people would not come to see the kind of football played by their young teams', he thundered, 'they were not the real supporters of the game'. North End had 77 registered players, and several of the young players would eventually make their mark on league football. He reiterated that the club would not be drawn 'into a post-war stampede'.(63) The drain on manpower continued, and even the early wartime youngsters were now called up. During the winter of 1944, as the Russians lifted the siege of Leningrad, and the Eighth Army was halted at Monte Cassino on the road to Rome, the board began to discuss post-war planning in detail. In April 1944, it was decided to re-enter league football only when hostilities ceased, but on 6 June - 'D-Day' - the policy was hastily abandoned, perhaps in the hope that the war would very soon be over.(64) Accordingly, senior football returned to Deepdale, and the following team was selected to play Southport on 26 August 1944, Holdcroft, Bradford, Watson, Hamilton, Smith, Robertson, Wharton, Mutch, Dougal, Bond and McIntosh.



PRESTON NORTH END FC, 1944.

BACK ROW (L-R): SMITH, HAMILTON, ROBERTSON, FAIRBROTHER, WATSON, MILNE. FRONT ROW: HORTON, MUTCH, DOUGAL, STRACHAN, WHARTON.

THE WAR HAD TAKEN FIVE YEARS FROM THE CAREERS OF THE PRE-WAR TEAM, AND ALL WOULD STRUGGLE WHEN PEACETIME FOOTBALL RECOMMENCED. THIS MEANT THAT PLAYERS SUCH AS JIMMY MILNE, ANDREW BEATTIE AND JIMMY DOUGAL DID NOT AMASS THE VERY LARGE NUMBER OF GAMES FOR THE CLUB THAT THEIR LONG ASSOCIATION WITH IT WOULD SUGGEST. THE FENCING AND WIRE NETTING AT THE CORNER OF THE KOP AND PAVILION PADDOCK, MAY HAVE BEEN A RELIC OF DEEPDALE'S WARTIME SERVICE AS A RATHER SPECIALISED POW CAMP. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

Throughout the war years, the club's finances were very carefully managed. After the record loss of almost £11,000, caused by the start of the war and the signing of new players, the company reported losses in 1942-3 and 1944-5. These totalled only £1,500, however, and reasonable profits were made in the other war years. As ever in adversity, the players' wage bill took the strain, falling to under £400 in the seasons when the club played junior football. The Profit and Loss account reflected the club's performance, moving into credit in 1938, and rising to a balance of over £5,000 in the following year. The losses of 1939-40, had resulted in a debit of almost £6,000 by 1941, rising to over £9,000 by 1944. With the return of more competitive football the negative balance began to fall in 1946.**(65)** These were eminently manageable sums, easily covered by the club's remarkable player and property assets, and trifling in comparison to the debts of the early 1930's. Here also, the experience of World War One had stood the company in good stead and it was well placed to exploit the second post-war soccer boom.

The club maintained close links with many of its Serviceman players. Andy Beattie had a long wrangle with the board over his benefit, which was finally paid in June 1942, and Will Scott was offered £500 on completing his 21 years with the club. The outstanding debts to other clubs for players signed just before the outbreak of war were gradually settled, Ayr United was paid £500, and the outstanding debt to Plymouth was settled in 1946. Men in the Forces continued to act as agents for the club, and in October 1945, for example, Andy Beattie was sent a pair of professional forms and two £5 signing on fees for 'two men in HM Forces' he had been watching.**(66)** Indeed, during these years, James Taylor's network of agents reached deep into the heart of the Reich itself. A group of naval POWs - a North Ender among them - were put to work in a Silesian brick works, and spent their spare time playing football, until their ball went 'Kaputt'. The men somehow had access to a radio and were able to send out a message requesting one. Taylor 'heard of this' and despatched one from Deepdale on war service. The men were constantly moved about, and the ball followed them to the Czech frontier, to Saxony, to Bremen, to the Harz mountains, and finally found the brickmakers through the Red Cross in Geneva. After the war the men returned their ball, which had thus 'done its bit' by confusing the enemy's postal service for two and a half years, to JIT with their thanks.**(67)**

COMING HOME

The resumption of senior football in the years 1944-46 was only a very moderate success, yet it reinvigorated the club and laid the framework for post-war redevelopment. The board's long-established policy was restated by 'Perseus' as early as January 1945: the signing of players at 'inflated cheque book' prices was not a sound policy, and the club would continue the wartime practice of 'bringing through' young players.**(68)** An air of complacency permeated the 1945 AGM and 'Perseus' remarked approvingly on how 'economically' the club had been run during the war.**(69)** In some ways the feeling was justified. The 1939 staff was still on the books, and the club had a number of genuinely outstanding players and a strong youth section. However, most of the 'old hands' found the transition back to league football difficult, and few of the juniors reached the standard expected of them. The playing days of Smith and Milne were over; Dougal, Mutch, Andrew Beattie and eventually Shankly struggled; and the club's outstanding schoolboy product, Ronnie Clayton, was told he would not make the grade and was released. The result was to be a third spectacular change of spending policy, similar to those of 1925 and 1931. Within five years North End would break the British transfer record.

Through the early part of 1945 Allied Forces pressed on into Germany. February saw the heavy bombing of Berlin, Dresden and Nuremburg; British troops crossed the Rhine in March; and by the end of April American and Russian soldiers met on the river Elbe. On 30 April, two days after North End had lost 1-0 to Blackburn Rovers, Hitler committed suicide. Germany surrendered on 7 May, two days after North End had lost 8-1 to Blackpool, who included a gardener to make up their eleven. On the same day General Von Rundstedt passed through Preston Railway Station, where he was offered, but apparently refused, a cup of tea. Though the war in the Far East continued, all energies at Deepdale were now directed at getting things back to normal as soon as possible. North Enders were scattered all round the world. Andy Beattie, sports organiser for the 5th Army in Italy, wrote home: **You will be pleased to hear that Tommy is playing some wonderful football out here, and in my opinion is better than Stanley Matthews. The way he takes the ball along the goal line and squares back makes me see that the North End right wing will give some defences tremendous trouble.** Andy McLaren was regularly sent the Football Post by Mrs McLaren in New Hall Lane. He had won three cups and eight medals playing for his station side in the Middle East. He wrote, 'I judge that the old team has not been doing so well! but prospects are bright. Hope to be back in business in 46-47'.(70)

Within a month, the 1945 General Election was well underway, and it was agreed that all parties could use Deepdale for meetings. Plans for Winston Churchill to address a mass meeting were abandoned in favour of Preston Market Place, but the great man must have had a good view of Deepdale as his cavalcade swept passed by the Spion Kop end of the ground.(71) Celebrations on VE-Day had been muted in Preston by the knowledge that many local men were still prisoners in the Far East. Through 1944, Slim's Fourteenth Army with Indian, Chinese and American Forces fought their way through Burma, turning the tide of the Japanese attack. On 22 January 1945 the Burma Road was re-opened, and British troops retook Rangoon in May. Plans to retake Malaya and Singapore became unnecessary when an atom bomb destroyed half of the city of Hiroshima on the morning of 6 August, and another devastated Nagasaki two days later. On 2 September, aboard the USS Missouri anchored in Tokyo Bay, Japan surrendered. Speedy efforts were now made to get the POWs home as quickly as possible. British Forces accompanied by a BBC correspondent liberated the prisoners held in Singapore on 5 September. The first question that he was asked was a worried 'How are things in Preston?'(72)

It was hoped that most of the 4,000 Prestonians in the Forces would be home during 1946. By January 1946, nine of the 1939 professionals were back at Deepdale, and Bobby Beattie was demobbed from Germany in February. At the same time, a party of seven 'G.I.Brides' left Preston to join their husbands in America. The enormous post-war football boom was by now apparent. The FA Cup had resumed on a two-leg basis. North End's fantastic Cup form took them to Charlton Athletic in the fifth round. Tickets for the first leg at Deepdale were much in demand, and 1,500 applications were received from the south Lakeland area alone. Queuing for the game began at 9am, and 38,500 people paid receipts of £3,700. A notable feature of this game was the then novel behaviour of the Londoners on the Kop end, who 'yelled out the name of their team, letter by letter'. North End won 1-0, but were swept away 6-0 in the fog during the second game.(73) North End's post-war Cup form thus carried on where it had left off in 1939, taking the club to the quarter finals in each of the first three seasons. In 1945 and 1946 they were beaten by Charlton (1946 finalists, 1947 winners), and in 1948 by Manchester United (winners). The following year they went out in the fourth round to Leicester City, who went on to be the beaten finalists.

CASH GALORE: RIDING THE POSTWAR SOCCER BOOM

One of North End's greatest assets was its league position, and the post-war football boom led to a historically unique state of affairs at Deepdale. For a number of seasons the lack of money was not a problem. In October 1947, a record 46,874 people saw the derby game at Ewood, while average gates at Deepdale rose steadily. Previous record years had been 1920-1 (21,230), and 1937-8 (22,671). These figures were now eclipsed. During the years 1946-52 gross attendances at Deepdale fluctuated

PRESTON NORTH END FC 1947-48.
BACK ROW (L-R): TROTTER, KANE, GRAY, GOOCH, HINDLE, SCOTT, SIMPSON, PARKER, GEORGE BARGH. MIDDLE ROW: GEORGE HOWARTH (CLUB SECRETARY), A. RAWLINGS, BROWN, SHANKLY, WILLIAMS, HORTON, TURNER, WATERS, CLAYTON, H. ROSS, J. METCALFE. FRONT ROW: CORR, GARTH, FINNEY, McLAREN, JAMES TAYLOR, McINTOSH, BEATTIE, R. ANDERS, CALVERLEY, WILSON.
THIS PHOTOGRAPH CLEARLY ILLUSTRATES THE EXTENT OF THE CHANGES IN THE TEAM STAFF SINCE THE END OF THE WAR. A WHOLE GENERATION HAD MOVED ON. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

between 559,617 (1946-7) and 697,746 (1948-49). Average league crowds swelled to 26,649 (1946-7), 29,506 (1947-8), and 33,236 (1948-9). Relegation in 1949 saw a slight fall to 28,164 (1949-90), and 31,259 (1950-51), before rising to 32,936 in 1951-2. Thereafter, attendances fell steadily through the early 1950's. Even more remarkable is the detailed analysis of the individual gates. The season 1948-49 saw the greatest-ever attendance at English matches, 41,248,808. The largest for a single day, 1,272,155 occurred on December 27th 1949, and the largest crowd on that day (50,586) saw Sheffield United play North End in the Second Division. Deepdale was host to many crowds of over 30,000 in these years; eighteen in 1948-9 and fifteen in 1951-2. In 1948-9, the first six games drew crowds of more than 30,000.**(74)**

With the increasingly unjust maximum wage in place, and a series of good Cup runs, PNEFC Ltd could post a series of spectacular profits that William Sudell could never have dreamt of. This brought with it a major problem with the Inland Revenue, which in part explains the directors' abandonment of their wartime policy of austerity in favour of free spending. Rather than lose their additional wealth to the state, it was pointed out that these windfall profits could be invested in new players, effectively reducing the profit line. Even if men were subsequently sold at an apparent loss, the club would still retain funds otherwise lost to taxation. In 1952-53 efforts to spend the company's large profit failed due to the directors' inability to find players to spend it on!**(75)**

Without cash problems, the company could now commit itself to rebuilding the club, but getting the British Army to retreat from Deepdale was to pose Taylor many problems. In August 1944, Taylor reported on the deterioration of the ground and tried to persuade Lt. Col. Davison to accept responsibility. The Army, of course, refused. In February 1945, the club's favourite architect, W. Forbes Campbell, was appointed to pursue the matter and to supervise repairs.**(76)** Much of the West stand was still used as a storage area, and members of the crowd could see the large number of interesting-looking packing cases stored on the seats. In December, a large area of the Deepdale Road car park was retaken, though the petrol compound remained as late as September 1946. Repair work was hampered by rationing, and both the iron work underneath the Spion Kop and the pitch's drainage system were in a poor state.**(77)** The Burnden Park disaster of March 1946 revealed the importance of such matters. Yet the following month North End decided to undertake only essential repairs, despite having accepted damages of almost £2,500 from the War Department. Since prices were very high, it was explained, the junior players and the ground staff could help with the work, which could be more cheaply done in a couple of years' time.**(78)** In 1947, a further £1,500 was received for damage to the car park. To combat the housing shortage, the club began once more to acquire properties, but conditions were tight, and on at least one occasion even the erstwhile directors of Preston North End found themselves gazumped.

In June 1946, a great Victory Searchlight Tattoo at Deepdale completed the Victory Day celebrations in Preston. On Avenham Park an enormous crowd consumed 14,000 sandwiches and 500 gallons of milk from gill bottles. The main public buildings were floodlit, street bonfires blazed out of control and at Leyland ten people were hurt on Worden Park by falling sky rockets. In Deepdale 4,000 people attended the Tattoo to see the synchronised marching bands of the Loyal and East Lancashire Regiments. The event ended with a grand march past to the strains of 'Abide With Me'.**(79)**

Throughout 1946, Preston was a-buzz with rumours of returning North Enders. Efforts by a Member of Parliament to get Finney's demob date brought forward failed, but both he and McLaren hoped to be home soon. As an indication of better times, fruit began to arrive through Preston Dock. One consignment of Spanish oranges was found to have wrappers depicting leading footballers, including one, 'Jose MaColl'. On 24 July the board was informed that: **T. Finney had been released from the Services under Class B, and it was agreed he be offered the maximum terms, £7-10s and £10 per week.** The 1939 fixture list thus began on 31 August 1946. Quite quickly two things became apparent: the war had taken the best years of most of the pre-war brigade who now found the adjustment from wartime football difficult, and the younger players could not adequately fill their places. The first year of peacetime saw the loss of Smith, Gallimore and Milne, and the sale of McIntosh to Blackpool (£3,500), Mutch to Bury (£1,750), and Dougal to Carlisle. Despite Taylor's earlier insistence that Andy Beattie be kept at Preston, he departed to become the Barrow manager in April 1947, a few months before Will Scott took over as manager at Ewood Park.**(80)** Important signings included striker Willie McIntosh from St. Johnstone (£4,750) and James Garth from Morton (£8,000). Finney made his league debut at the age of 24, and McLaren got back from India in late December.

North End entered 1947 in third place, and rose to second by the end of January, by which time the great 1947 freeze-up had begun. On 25 February a foot of snow fell on Moor Park, trains were halted, mills closed due to the lack of coal, and the river Ribble froze over at Walton-le-Dale. On 30 January the freeze-up caught North End badly prepared for a league match against Middlesbrough. Supporters had to queue for hours in the cold to get in. At the Kop end only a single turnstile was open. Taylor apologised, but he could not resist adding that 'People will queue at cinema houses in all weather for much longer than they would at football matches'.**(81)** Inconsistency resulted in a relatively disappointing seventh position, in a league race which many felt North End could have won. A very novel feature of this first season was the hire of four aircraft to fly Burnley supporters, from Samlesbury to Hendon for the Cup Final. The cost was £60 per plane.**(82)**

The new big spending policy really got underway on 13 May 1947, when the board authorised James Taylor 'to spend up to the maximum of £30,000 on team strengthening'.**(83)** By the end of the year signings included Gray from Rangers (£3,500), Kane and Waters from Glentoran (£5,000), Calverley from Arsenal (£4,000), and Hannah and McClure from Albion (£3,000). Fairbrother left for Middlesbrough (£6,500) and by January 1948 the bank balance still stood at £32,000.**(84)** Within a year or so, Garth, Gray, Calverley, McClure had gone. More auspicious was the signing of Joe Walton from Manchester United in March 1948, for £12,000.**(85)** Once again the team might have won the championship but for spells of loss of form, and finished in seventh place.

Two seasons of Cup and league promise but eventual disappointment, combined with a profit of

Anti-freeze measures in the Deepdale goalmouths.

Up to the 1960's great efforts were made, particularly with important Cup matches, to avoid cancelling fixtures due to bad weather. How effective such measures were is open to doubt, but games were generally only called off in very exceptional conditions. The two very bad winters of the century (1947 and 1963) led to the postponement of many games with a consequently serious disruption of the club's cash flow. (National Football Museum)

£16,000, resulted in a further round of expensive signings in the summer of 1948: Corbet and Bogan from Celtic (£10,000), Davie from Kilmarnock (£5,500), and in August the club's record signing, the England international Bobby Langton from Blackburn Rovers (£14,500 plus David Gray).**(86)** Once again none of these players was to have a long stay at Deepdale. Season 1948-49 started disastrously and after 26 matches North End were third from bottom of the division, with just six wins and five draws. At the end of January 1949, Tom Finney broke his jaw in a Cup match, and he managed just 25 games through injury. James Taylor's health failed, he entered hospital for an operation, and Will Scott was asked to return as manager. He found a much changed team, for 80 positional changes, requiring 26 professionals, had been made in just five months. Form improved, but as North End picked up a point a game under Scott, so did their rivals. The climax came on the last day of the season. North End won at Anfield, and there was a fifteen-minute wait for the score of rivals Huddersfield Town. When it came through, the team discovered that they had been relegated with Sheffield United.**(87)**

1949 IN RETROSPECT

Relegation in 1949, coming at the end of a season which had promised so much, during a period of optimism and unprecedented prosperity, was the most shattering blow to hit the club since the 'resignation' of William Suddell 56 years before. It at once exposed the tender fragility of North End's place as a town club among the city giants. Though contemporary analysts laid the blame squarely on injuries and 'bad luck', this view could not hide two unpalatable truths. Firstly, team selection and the signing of players was still the preserve of the board of directors, and this management system at Deepdale was beginning to fail. Secondly, the team's performance on the field had already become dangerously dependent on the form of a single irreplaceable player. As the company's very favourable trading conditions began to deteriorate through the 1950's and as Tom Finney's playing days drew to an end, greater pressure would inevitably be brought to bear on its management resources.

It is hard to escape the conclusion that the James Taylor of the early 1930's would have carried through the post-war rebuilding with greater success, but by 1945, he was seventy. He had asked for 'help to lighten the load' in May 1939, only to have his role extended during the war.(89) By 1945, the club faced a new range of hard decisions. Many old faces would have to go, yet a high proportion of their new and expensive replacements were not a success. In the management structure much depended on Taylor, and his illness in December 1948 may have been brought on by the team's bad form. He suffered a serious seizure, and underwent a critical operation. He managed to attend a board meeting at the start of March 1949, but was forced to retire from the board in May 1950. The great machine thus lost the dynamo necessary to spark it into life. The composition of the board changed only slowly, usually through the death or ill health of members, and the war naturally delayed the succession of younger men. In November 1945, Messrs Green and Ingham replaced Messrs Lucas and Blackburn. J. H. Ingham had bought up a number of the late Meyrick Hollins's shares in 1939, and he was joined on the board in 1950 by Alan Harrison. These two men, in due course, were to be the successors of Nat Buck who succeeded James Taylor in 1950.(89)

Taylor's failing health was clearly a contributory factor to the team's relegation, but other serious mistakes had been made. The club had still not appointed a modern team manager. Will Scott was grudgingly appointed team 'supervisor' in April 1946, and left to become the manager of Blackburn Rovers in June 1947. At the start of post-war football, Taylor seems to have envisaged Andy Beattie as a long term replacement, and in March 1946 spoke at some length on his importance to the club. After a discussion, the board voted only narrowly 4-3 to offer Beattie a two-year playing contract, to be then followed by a three-year contract as scout and coach.(90) Yet when Beattie struggled to find his pre-war form he was allowed to leave to start his distinguished management career at Barrow FC in April 1947.

In the space of a few weeks both Scott and his possible longer-term successor left the club. Most remarkable of all was the departure of Bill Shankly, one of the most loyal players the club has ever had, under a cloud of mutual recrimination and contractual wrangling, to become manager of Carlisle United in March 1949.(91) That the 1938 team could produce such respected managers as Milne, Beatty, and Shankly speaks volumes for the club's policies at that time. Yet once the Finney effect had passed, the lasting validity of the old Taylor-Scott approach to the game, along with a number of North End's finest players of the 1960's and 1970's, were to find renewed success, not at Deepdale, but at Anfield. Indeed, as a final irony, when the North End board failed to ratify Alan Ball's signing of Kevin Keegan, both Beattie and Shankly were duly on hand to spirit him up the Mersey.

Some people think football is a matter of life and death..... I can assure them it is much more serious than that.
BILL Shankly
1914-1981

A collector's card: Billy Shankly.

After his retirement in 1949 Shankly's management career progressed via Carlisle United (1949-51), Grimsby Town (1951-54), Workington (1954-55), Huddersfield Town (1955-59), and Liverpool (1959-74). Much of his managerial success grew out of his experience at Deepdale, and after his death in September 1981 British football would never be quite the same again.

(National Football Museum)

chapter
9

the glory of FINNEY

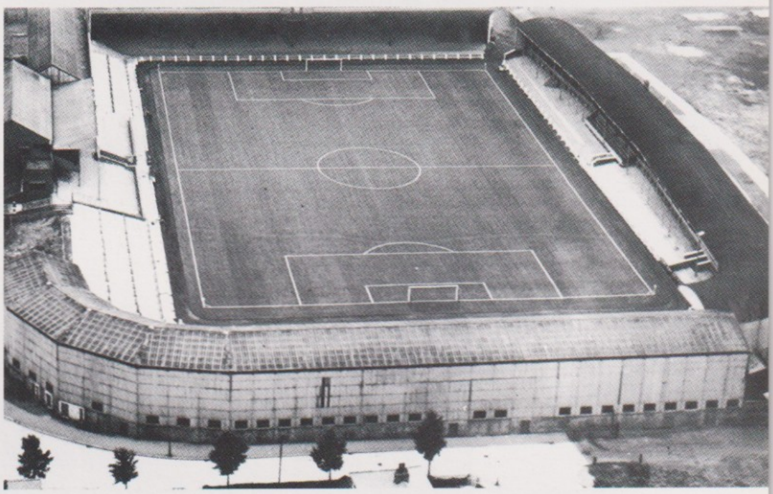
The 1950's was a decade of unprecedented social progress in Britain, and remarkable footballing glory for the devotees of the North End club. Everyday life in Preston changed enormously. Half of the 32,000 houses had been built in the period 1840-90, and a large part of the fabric of the town now began to be replaced.

PROBABLY THE WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS FOOTBALLING PHOTOGRAPH.

The movement out of the town into the suburbs, which had begun in the inter-war years, now gathered pace. By the late fifties and early sixties, Preston's redevelopment had moved into a higher gear with the removal of whole districts and the transplanting of communities, so that even larger numbers of North Enders now no longer actually lived in Preston. The post-war evolution of the town's industrial base, from an economy based on textiles to one firmly based in services and the new technology, brought further dislocation. The war had stimulated the development of an extensive aircraft manufacturing industry, and the world's first jet bomber, the Canberra, designed and built in Preston, flew from Warton in May 1949. With the wholesale removal of Lancashire's Japanese competitors, the textile trade enjoyed a short boom, but in the mid-1950's the pattern of closures resumed. In 1960 Horrockses ('The Greatest Name in Cotton') was taken over, and their vast Yard Works, one of the most famous industrial sites in the world since the eighteenth century, closed in 1962.**(1)**

In Preston as elsewhere, these changes were cushioned by the buoyancy of the national economy, stimulated by a generally expansionary and ultimately an inflationary economic policy, which delivered historically very high levels of employment. As in most periods, an individual's experience of the times was closely related to their economic context, and the North End football club was no exception to this rule. From the end of the war the 'leisure sector' has enjoyed an almost continuous boom right up to the end of the century. Higher wages, better employment prospects and the security of the Welfare State resulted in greatly increased disposable incomes. The post-war boom was kept going by increasing consumer spending in the 'You never had it so good' era, and an increasing share could be spent on entertainment. Initially football clubs benefited from an enormous expansion in League attendances, but by the mid-fifties this had clearly passed, leading to renewed fears at Deepdale about the club's ability to compete over the longer term in the transfer market with the city clubs. New attractions to distract the supporters' attention on a Saturday afternoon had emerged, and the growth of televised football was firmly resisted by the board.

North End's ability, as one of the leading small town clubs, to compete with its city-based rivals was based on the retention of a 'low' maximum wage, and the 'retain and transfer' system. When a player signed a contract with a club his wages were thus closely regulated with no regard to his actual earning value to the club ('putting numbers on the gate'), and any subsequent transfer could be made only with the club's consent. If a large transfer fee was negotiated the player received only a fraction of the sum. North End's position had been maintained by this unjust system and Taylor and Scott's undoubted ability to subvert the costly transfer market by recruiting and developing talented



Deepdale, August 1952.

Looking from above the Kop End the symmetrical results of two years' work terracing the paddocks shows up well in this air photograph. The old directors' box in the West stand can clearly be seen standing slightly forward of the rest of the seating, as can the South extension of the Pavilion on the east side. (National Football Museum) younger players. Throughout the decade these threats were in reality probably more apparent than real, but there can be no doubt that they did exert a very real influence on the policy of the board when gates began to fall after the 1954 Cup Final success. Perhaps it is to press a point too far, but the marked loss of confidence in the local economy during the cotton industry traumas of the early 1920's and the mid-1950's, finds a ready response at Deepdale in a marked lack of direction and hesitancy to enter the transfer market. On each occasion the predictable result was relegation from the First Division.

These grim potents aside, it was perhaps as well that throughout the 1950's North End shared only with England, the services of one of the world's few truly great football players. By luck (or as some North Enders still maintain by the intervention of some higher force in the lives of men), he had conveniently been born a short distance from the ground.

THE HOLME SLACK WONDER

Thomas Finney was born in Preston on 5 April 1922, the son of Margaret and Alf Finney of St. Michael's Road.(2) Mrs Finney died in 1926, leaving Tom's father and five children. Despite the hard times, Alf kept the family together. This was a household of North Enders, and the boy grew up amid stories of the great Alec James and the doings of Preston North End. On moving to Holme Slack, his childhood was not dissimilar to that of many of his future admirers. Shared experiences during the war further strengthened their ties. Such links appear to be central characteristics of that select band of footballers, such as Joe McCall, who rose to become almost living manifestations of their clubs. Much has been written of North End's failure to enlist him in the first great drive to recruit local talent in the late thirties, and the chance that he might have been lost to Blackburn Rovers through their apparent tardiness. In fact, Finney was something of a childhood prodigy - a 'quiet thoughtful boy' who cared only for football. Still under five feet and five stone, the small boy was selected for, but did not play, in the Preston town team which shared the All England Schools' Shield in 1936.(3)

FINNEY CROSSING FROM THE RIGHT WING: FA CUP 5TH ROUND, DEEPDALE 1957.

THIS 3-3 DRAW AGAINST ARSENAL WAS SEEN BY 39,000 PEOPLE, GOALS CAME FROM TOMMY THOMPSON AND FINNEY (2). NORTH END WERE BEATEN 2-1 IN THE REPLAY BEFORE A CROWD OF OVER 60,000, SO THAT OVER 100,000 PEOPLE HAD SEEN THE TIE! (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

Leaving school at 14, Finney joined a local plumbing firm. He played for the Holme Slack side, and through his father's acquaintance with Will Scott took part in a trial match on Ashton Park. At the end of the game, Scott ushered the youth into the presence of Mr. James Taylor, who then and there offered him a job on the groundstaff. To Tom's amazement, his father, employer and friends all advised him to finish his apprenticeship on six shillings a week, rather than accept the 50s the chairman had offered him.(4) Recently discovered records suggest a rather different interpretation of events. They reveal that the boy was being carefully observed by John Kerr, the chief of Taylor's 'watchers', as early December 1935, when he was just 13. He had been recommended to the club by a local referee, Mr. Bickerstaff.(5) The child's enormous potential seems to have been realised and care may have been taken not to arouse undue expectations. Indeed, Taylor and Scott probably extracted what to them was amusement at their placid prodigy's expense, by criticising, for example, his 'undue' ball holding after he had enjoyed a particularly good game. After one such game, Taylor insisted that Finney should move from inside left to outside right, a position he had sought to fill at enormous expense by signing the great Stanley Matthews himself. In January 1940, amid signs of much sudden urgency and haste on Taylor's part, Finney signed for the Preston club. The board's minutes carefully recorded, 'It was reported that T. Finney had been signed as a professional at 10s per match'. The club secretary had been called in to Deepdale specially. It was New Year's Day!(6)

His playing style inspired many fine descriptions. Berry and Allman wrote of the 'bewitching balance and ball control' of this 'complete player', adding that, 'If all the brains in the game sat in committee and designed the perfect player, they would come up with a reincarnation of Finney'.(7) Bill Shankly and Tommy Docherty had no doubts on the matter. Years of practice made it difficult to detect which was his natural foot: **Finney is rare in his ability to do everything equally well with both. Running clear with the ball, or in a fast dribble, he will control it with the outside of either right or left, and shoot or pass without breaking his rhythm.(8)** Finney also possessed great presence, an ability to make things happen on the pitch, and to make his team mates believe that he could. As West Bromwich Albion were to demonstrate, to stop Preston, Finney had first to be marked out of the game.

The essence of Tom Finney's deeper meaning in the history of the North End club was brilliantly explored by Maurice Eddlestone and Terence Delaney in 1960: **There was never a more fortunate connection between club and player. Finney, by temperament and physique suited to be a thoughtful, skilful, careful player; Preston, a club with the highest of proud traditions, playing their football in what used to be known as the Scottish style - close holding of the ball, neat accurate passing, all the work done on the ground. Finney was born, one might say, on the doorstep of the one club most likely to allow him to develop his particular gifts, and to allow him, year after year, to exercise them among players of similar principles.(9)**

The statistics of Finney's career have been very succinctly presented by Paul Agnew.(10) Aside from wartime football, during which he was a member of North End's 1940-41 double winning side, and played representative games in the Forces beyond number, Finney played in 433 League games, scoring a club record 187 goals. He was a member of the 1950-51 Second Division championship side, and the two League Championship runner-up teams of 1952-3 and 1957-8. In 1952-3 and 1956-7 the Championship and runner-up spots respectively, were missed only on goal average. Finney played in 40 FA Cup games, scoring 23 goals, and captained the side narrowly beaten in the final of 1954. In addition to winning the War Cup, the club reached the sixth round in 1946-7, 1947-8, and 1959-60. In all League and FA Cup games, he played in 473 games and scored 210 goals. The achievement is all the more remarkable when it is considered that in most games he was played as a 'goal maker' rather than a 'goal getter'. Indeed, it would be interesting to know just how many goals North End scored in games in which Finney took part from moves in which he did not touch the ball.

Tom Finney's international career is given additional lustre by the fact that these were football's golden years. The 'Preston Plumber' played in games representing the Football League 17 times (W14. L3), scoring seven goals. He played for England on 76 occasions (W51. D12. L12. Abandoned 1) scoring 30 goals, at a time when international games were comparative novelties. Only 12 of these games were World Cup matches. On 4 October 1958, a goal in Belfast, his last for England, gave him the record number of goals scored by an Englishman in international football. He was a member of the side that defeated Italy 4-0 in Turin in 1948, and West Germany 3-1 at Wembley in 1954. In May 1952, he played in the great 3-2 defeat of Austria in Vienna, during which his pal Nat Lofthouse won his 'Lion of Vienna' tag.

As a member of the English minority in the North End dressing room, Finney reserved many of his finest performances for the Scots, much to their delight, and often to the accompaniment of the Hampden Roar. Only such a player, it was supposed, could be good enough to keep a Scot out of the Scotland North End side. After a particular setback, one North British enthusiast was reported to have remarked that it had been a good thing that King Edward had not been able to deploy Finney at Bannockburn! Yet the end of British footballing isolation was to be marked by a series of disasters, and Finney played in the 1-0 defeat by the United States in Brazil in 1950, and the second (and most shattering) 7-0 defeat by the great Hungarian side in Budapest in 1954. He at least was able to learn from the lesson, as his later move to deep-lying centre forward was to reveal. He played in all three forward positions for England, and scored four goals against Portugal in Lisbon in May 1950. This was but one of the occasions when a legitimate case can be made out that he was in fact the outstanding player to be found anywhere in the world at the time.

So far can statistics go. The aura of the player was graphically captured in two superb photographs of him cutting through water on a flooded pitch at Stamford Bridge ('The Splash'), and of him 'drawing' three defenders from a rival club out of position during a match at Deepdale ('The Magnet'). Despite the extremely rough treatment he frequently endured he was never sent off, never booked. It has been estimated that he was fouled every four and a half minutes.(11) Over thirty years after his final game such had become the Finney legend, that by public demand he was awarded a knighthood - officially.

DISPENSING A PUBLIC TRUST

Relegation in 1949, at the end of a season at whose outset North End had been among the fancied title contenders, came as a shattering blow to all at Deepdale. The retained list was approved by the directors on 3 May, but the following week the board learned that Finney and Langton had not re-signed.(12) The story broke in the press almost immediately, leading the club to issue an official denial that the player was to be transferred. Walter Pilkington tried to kill the rumours: 'The invention about Finney was so palpably naive that it scarcely merited serious attention beyond the necessity of scotching it at birth'. Yet he had to concede, 'What first-class club would not like to sign a player of Finney's value if they could afford it?'(13) The rumours linked Blackpool and Manchester United. A month later most players had re-signed, but there was 'nothing to report on TF'.(14)

Tom Finney's former home, Fulwood. June 2000. This bungalow was built by the club for Tom Finney to rent. It stood in the garden of James Taylor's house which can be seen on the left. (Photo: author)

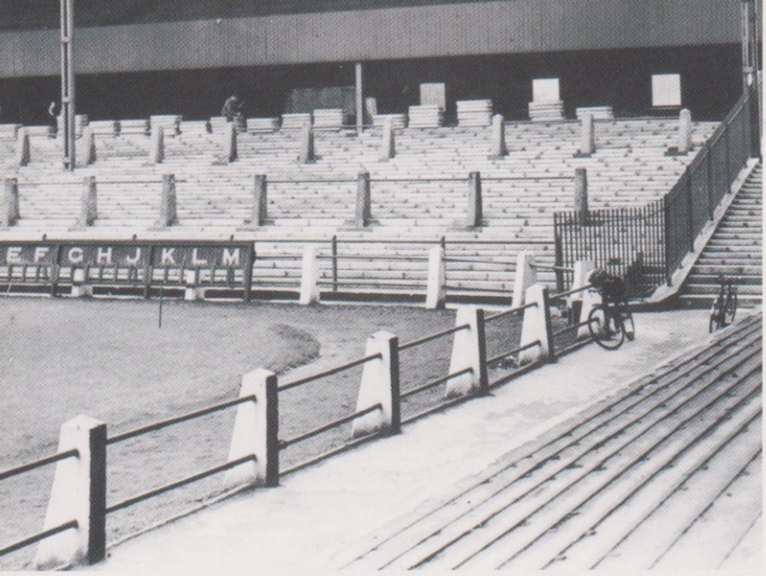
The broader picture began to emerge some years later. Finney, robbed of six years by the war, and already 27-years-old, had made little money out of his career and felt that he might be better off with a move. A player from the Second Division, it was thought, would find it harder to win selection for England, and this would also affect his income. On the other hand, he was steadily building up his Preston-based business with his brother Joe. In short, he was a man worried about his future. Most unsettling of all was an illegal approach made to him, while 'enjoying a stroll in Preston one summer day'. Ask for a transfer, advised a mysterious stranger, 'and I can put £2,000, tax free, in your pocket'. To put this into some sort of context, a £2,000 house in 1950, might be worth around £100,000 today.

The Finney's next-door neighbour in Victoria Road, James Taylor, was well placed to observe any suspicious comings and goings. His influence on the long-term destiny of the club was critical at this stage. He had returned to the chairmanship on 1 March 1949 after his serious illness, and managed to attend meetings until he was taken ill a second time in mid-February 1950, resigning a month later. During this twelve months he persuaded Finney to stay, revitalised the scouting system and signed Mattinson, Cunningham, Ramscar, Docherty, Quigley and Forbes. And in September 1949 he began moves to bring the great Joe Marston from Australia. During one frank meeting, Taylor agreed with Finney that 'North End's team was so poor that prospects of an early return to the First Division seemed very remote'. Predictably furious at the news of attempts to steal away his greatest player, he calmed sufficiently to reassure Finney that his career would not suffer: **I've got great plans for this club. You don't have to tell me the team is not good enough, but I intend making signings, big signings, and the players who arrive at Deepdale are going to help you get us out of the Second Division within a couple of seasons.** Taylor had clearly learnt much from his dealings with Alec James, and mellowed his authoritarian stance by playing on Finney's innate loyalty, parting with the words, 'You should never leave Preston, Tom. You shall never leave. North End need you!'. On 21 June and 12 July Taylor reported at length to the board on his meetings with Finney, who stayed at Deepdale.**(15)**

Taylor's response to relegation was the same as in 1912 and 1925 - to invest in new players. In a return to the 'progressive policy', the club's post-war financial buoyancy allowed him to spend freely. In July 1949, Willie Cunningham was signed from Airdrie for £6,500, and as the new season started the directors were watching a number of targets. Their observations were not always hopeful: 'Messrs. J. H. Ingham and R. Smith reported on Docherty, Celtic, as not likely to be of much service to us'. In November Docherty, and Ramscar of QPR, were signed.**(16)** Early in September information was received concerning a likely prospect, called Joe Marston, who was playing for the Leichhardt Annandale club in New South Wales, Australia. Details took some time to work out, but permission was received from the Football League to pay his passage over in January 1950.**(17)** The sale of McIntosh and Bogan raised £13,000 to offset the new signings, but the transfer of Langton to Bolton Wanderers for £19,000 opened the way for Taylor's most spectacular coup since the signing of the Wembley Wizard.

North End were interested in Eddie Quigley, Sheffield Wednesday's inside forward. On 8 December, Taylor reported to the board that 'developments re-Quigley were expected later in the week'. On 14 December 1949, it was reported that North End had paid a record £26,000 for the signing of a British player, £3,000 below the world record paid by Internazione of Turin for Amedio Amatel.**(18)** What is often overlooked is the fact that on the previous day, Taylor had paid £18,000 for wing half Willie Forbes of Wolves The news caused a sensation. **'Whatever one's views may be about the craziness of disgorging something like £40,000 on two footballers', wrote Pilkington, 'it must be admitted that North End, to say the least, have been audacious'.** Given the receipts from the Langton deal, and the tax implications, the cost was not so great as it seemed; and Pilkington continued: **What else can a club do with surplus money except secure attractive and skilful players - when they come into the market? They are prohibited from spending lavishly on building or ground improvements. If they pile up a huge profit Sir Stafford (Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer) cheerfully grabs half. In view of that even a £26,000 transfer fee comes down to £13,000.(19)**

In the true Taylor style a new order had been established, which would endure almost to the end of the Finney era and, it must be said, to the end of the era of North End's Twentieth Century greatness: **Whatever the outcome, the groundwork is being**



TERRACING OF THE PADDOCKS: THE SE CORNER OF THE GROUND 1952.
(NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

laid at last. The foundations are there for a fine side... And the job is not finished. The directors know every weakness from back to front and they are determined not to rest until they are remedied.[20] But the old boardroom order was changing. Will Onda died, Ewart Bradshaw stood down, and Taylor himself resigned in March: **Mr. Taylor expressed his gratitude for the whole hearted loyalty of the Board during his association with the club and to the staff for their devotion to the club during the same period. He wished the club well and expressed his confidence for its future success.**[21]

When North End failed to bounce back at the first attempt (finishing sixth, some seven points behind second-place Sheffield Wednesday) and when Quigley did not settle readily into the side, the club found itself once again the subject of great criticism. Finney in particular was singled out, as the press developed stories of his supposed jealousy of Quigley. This led him to decide to leave. Once again Taylor intervened: **I told you once before that you must never leave Preston, Tom, and I'll say it again. Leave this business with me, and I'll see if I can do something about the press campaign.** In perhaps his last service to the club, JIT simply 'stopped the press'.[22] The season 1950-51, began like that of 1888-89, amidst extreme criticism of the North End 'executive', both of course were record-breaking years. The view was that the club 'was a public trust in the hands of the directors', who were managing it badly.[23]

A major row erupted at the annual meeting in November 1950, when it was argued that between £175-£200,000 had been spent on players - four teams in five years - and none of them stronger than the 1946 side. Every position had been changed except that of outside right. All the talk of youth policies had produced a single first team player. North End would soon be back to the days of Harper and Rowley and buying players on the HP system. Chairman Nat Buck disputed the figures, pointing to £80,000 raised from outgoing transfers, and the secretary, George Howarth, stated that the net expenditure was £65,000, which 'allowing for profits and income tax' was a net outlay of £35,000. The present eleven he claimed was worth £120,000, and half of this sum was accounted for by five players developed by the club. A vote of no confidence in the board 'as long as they continued with the present administrative staff', did not gain enough support to be put to a vote.[24] In his neat, meticulous way, Walter Pilkington explored the legitimacy of the various arguments in the Football Post. Broadly supportive, he significantly noted that the club produced a steady income by developing their own players and shrewdly selling them on to finance larger deals for better players.[25] In later years the process would be put into reverse, to fund the club's very survival.

CHASING CHAMPIONSHIPS: THE PRINCE AND THE PLUMBER

Finney underwent an operation for appendicitis in August 1950, and though September saw the signing from Southampton Town of the ace centre forward Charlie Wayman (for £10,000 and the popular Eddie Brown in exchange) the 1950-51 season began badly. In November, amid a gathering crisis, Harry Anders broke his collar bone, and Eddie Quigley developed tonsillitis. Scott and Bobby Beattie were brought back into the side, and on 25 November there began a run of 20 consecutive matches without defeat, extending to 7 April 1951, and including a record-equalling sequence of 14 successive wins (nine of them away from home).(26) The 'Invincibles' had managed one less. Only 12 men were used, with Marston replacing Harry Mattinson at centre half when the latter broke his leg. The Deepdale dozen were: Jimmy Gooch, Willie Cunningham, Bill Scott, Tommy Docherty, Harry Mattinson, Joe Marston, Willie Forbes, Tommy Finney, Ken Horton, Charlie Wayman, Bobby Beattie and Angus Morrison. Though Finney was the star of the side, and probably at his peak at this time, this was clearly no one-man Preston team. Wayman and Horton contributed almost 50 goals between them, and Finney and Quigley a further 22. Having failed to make an impact as a fullback, Joe Marston was an immediate sensation at centre half. Forbes and Docherty were well to the fore, and to the great joy of his many admirers the veteran Bobby Beattie enjoyed a fine season in the Indian summer of his career.

The Championship was won at Deepdale on 21 April after the 1-0 defeat of Hull City: 'Many of the crowd invaded the pitch at the conclusion of the match, but were dispersed by the police after they had mobbed the North End team'.(27) That evening the players attended a mayoral dinner at the Municipal Buildings. Tom Finney, who had replaced the injured Mattinson as acting captain, spoke of the team's spirit: **It had been easy to act as captain because every man went on the field determined to play his part, and if someone had a bad game the others tried to help him by doing a bit extra, which was real team work - the secret of North End's success.(28)** The Shield was presented at Deepdale during a Festival of Britain game against a Yugoslavian side Red Star. Preston won through goals by Quigley and Beattie: **Beattie revelled in the ball-play of the first half and scored North End's first goal after 13 minutes,**

A B C D E F
G H J K L M
N O P Q R S

Maine Road, Manchester. 27 March 1954.

A section of the Preston contingent in the 75,000 strong crowd for the FA Cup Semi-final against Sheffield Wednesday. North End won 2-0 through goals from Wayman and Baxter. (National Football Museum)

Preston North End FC: Division Two Champions 1950-51.
Back Row (l-r): Dougall, Wilson, Gooch, Newlands, Docherty, Cunningham, Coar, Buckley, Johnson. Middle Row: Rawlings, Coupe, Hatsell, Waters, Marston, Forbes, Mattinson, Morrison, Evans, Scott, Hannah, Bargh. Front Row: Milne, Quigley, Knight, Horton, Walton (captain), Finney, Beattie, Anders, Ramscar, Will Scott (manager).
(National Football Museum)

heading back his own lobbed shot which had rebounded from the cross-bar.[29]

The archaic regulation of the sport was revealed when the players asked the board for presents for their wives to commemorate the championship win. The club had to wait weeks for clearance from the Football League to buy them each a £4 handbag.[30] Similarly, the board still controlled team selection. Before the first game of the new season, the board discussed the matter: **Mr. R. Smith proposed, seconded by Mr. H. Cartmell, that Quigley replace Horton in the forward line. An amendment proposed by Mr. N. Buck, seconded by Mr. W. Mercer that the team be Gooch, Cunningham, Scott, Docherty, Marston, Forbes, Finney, Horton, Wayman, Beattie and Morrison, was, on a vote being taken, carried.** In the event of injury, Harry Anders was to replace Finney.[31] Quigley had asked for a transfer and been refused, as early as February 1951. He could now go, and Blackburn Rovers came in with a bid of £12,000, £3,000 less than Preston wanted.[32] Furthermore, the fee was to be paid in a series of 'easy payments'. Nat Buck referred to this largess at the 1951 meeting: **It was certainly a neighbourly action and we hope it will help to get them back in the First Division with us.**[33]

The team adapted well to life in the First Division, ending the 1951-52 season safely in seventh place and 18 points clear of relegation. Squad strengthening continued. February 1952 saw the signing of Derek Lewis from Gillingham, a promising player whose tragically early death in July the following year shocked the football world. Jimmy Baxter was signed from Barnsley in June for another £12,000 fee. Yet as hopes ran high for the 1953 season, a bombshell hit the club: **The Chairman reported that T. Finney had approached him regarding an offer received from an Italian club for his services. Unanimously agreed that the player be informed that we could not accede to this request. This player had been retained with the FA, and was expected to re-sign for season 52-53 on his return from holiday.** To stiffen the resolve to keep Finney, Nat Buck proceeded to place a world record £50,000 fee on the head of the 30-year-old player.[34]

During the 1952 continental tour with England, made memorable by Nat Lofthouse's goal in the game played in Vienna's Russian zone, Finney was approached by Prince Roberto Lanza di Trabia, to play in Sicily: **If I would play two seasons with Palermo FC I could collect a £10,000 signing-on fee, wages of £130 a month, bonuses of up to £100, a villa on the Mediterranean, a brand-new continental car, and free travel to Italy for myself, my wife, and family.** The sunshine and beaches would be free. The prince would pay North End 'substantial compensation' for the loan, or a straightforward £30,000 transfer fee. North End would have none of it. Once again the affair became a newspaper sensation, and the archaic contract system worked strongly in the club's favour. Finney cabled Palermo: 'Sorry Stop Unable to accept your offer owing to club refusal to negotiate for transfer'. However, the Finneys got their holiday on the beach after all - at Blackpool. Tom's wage at Deepdale at this time was £14 a week during the season and £10 during the summer, with bonuses of £2 for a win and £1 for a draw. Tommy Thompson probably became the club's first £1,000 a year player (excluding benefit and international fees) in 1958.

It was perhaps as well that the following season was to be the club's most successful in the League in the Twentieth Century. In Will Scott's last season as manager, North End finished top of the First Division with the same number of points as Arsenal, but an inferior goal average. In February 1953 occurred one of Deepdale's most tragic events, when a collision between the Preston keeper Thompson and Sheffield Wednesday's centre forward Derek Dooley resulted in the latter suffering a broken leg, which subsequently became infected and had to be amputated. Though Finney missed a fair proportion of games through injury (8), Cunningham, Docherty, Marston, Morrison and Wayman were virtual ever-presents, with most of the goals coming from Wayman (23), Finney (17), Morrison (13) and Lewis (12). In their penultimate home game, North End faced Arsenal, in a situation not dissimilar to that of 1938. The conflicting styles had changed little, with North End favouring the Scottish method on the ground, but the result was quite different, Preston winning 2-0.

In the Football Post, the headline over Pilkington's report ran: 'North End's Clear Cut Mastery: Merciless Pressure Broke Arsenal'. He wrote: **In my long experience, I have never seen an Arsenal side as outclassed or as ragged ...Preston North End gave them a lesson in tactics and ball skill, to win without any questioning of their just title to success.(35)** Finney's penalty at Derby the following Wednesday put North End in first place, two points ahead of Arsenal, but with an inferior goal average. Arsenal's final game, at Highbury on the Friday, was against sixth-placed Burnley. Hopes were high that the Turf Moor men would take a point. The outcome was described by Berry and Allman: "Two 'Mickey Mouse' goals and an indulgent referee ...conspired to rob them of the Championship by point one of a goal". Each club had the same number of wins, draws and defeats. It made a depressing end for Will Scott's great career.**(36)**

In many respects this was the club's most frustrating season. Notoriously bad starters, North End's first 12 games yielded just 11 points, and only 17 goals, including a 5-0 home defeat by Manchester United in October. The analysis is quite startling;

P	**W**	**D**	**L**	**F**	**A**	**Pts**
12	3	5	4	17	21	11
30	18	7	5	68	39	43
42	21	12	9	85	60	54

Nor had the club's cause been helped, it was now realised, by their earlier defeat at the hands of Charlton, while both Docherty and Finney were absent taking part in a representative match which left the latter injured. Pilkington, however, sought

PRESTON NORTH END
FOOTBALL CLUB LTD

DEEPDALE, 22 JANUARY 1951.

AFTER A 3-0 AWAY WIN AT LEICESTER CITY IN THE THIRD ROUND OF THE FA CUP, HOPES WERE HIGH IN 1951. QUEUING FOR TICKETS FOR THE 4TH ROUND TIE WITH HUDDERSFIELD TOWN HAD BEGUN AT MIDNIGHT. THE GAME WAS PLAYED FIVE DAYS LATER AND PRESTON LOST 2-0. SUPPORTERS BOUGHT THEIR TICKETS AT THE TURNSTILES IN THE WEST STAND, SEEN HERE WITH ITS ORIGINAL 1906 FACADE. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM) consolation in the side's high artistry: **Class and style have prevailed, plus fine team spirit on and off the pitch. Preston have proved that lack of height and weight need not be a handicap if the football ability is there. Four outstanding players who have illustrated this axiom are Finney, Docherty, Wayman and Baxter.(37)** North End would never improve on this performance in the old First Division, and for those wishing to place Finney in a historical context, he had equalled the record seventeen goals scored by a Preston wing-man set by Dicky Bond when North End had last been runners-up in 1905-6.

JAMES SCOTLAND SYMON: 1953-54

Nat Buck was a natural and popular choice as James Taylor's successor, becoming the club's fourth chairman in March 1950. He had been at the centre of decision making at Deepdale since the dark days of the late-1920's and knew the club inside out. Walter Pilkington knew him well: **The new chairman is hale, bluff, outspoken, good-humoured and not given to getting to his point in a roundabout way, his forthrightness and straight dealing are characteristics typical of a Lancashire man who knows what he wants, says what he means and has no time for slick and facile evasion.** J. H. Ingham, the youngest member of the board, succeeded Buck as vice-chairman. Though a comparative newcomer, he was said to have thrown himself energetically into his new duties, 'and in a comparatively short time has acquired the knowledge and understanding which, with his other advantages, equip him soundly for an official position'.**(38)**

Quite early in Nat Buck's long term as chairman, evidence of a shift away from Taylor's policy of expensive signings began to manifest itself. In August 1952, season ticket sales exceeded £30,000, and the company's turnover surpassed £100,000. A month later during a discussion about new players and the club's buying policy, the board 'finally agreed that we should concentrate on 3rd Division North players - keeper, left back, centre half and inside forward'.**(39)** At the 1953 AGM, the board was criticised by Tom Nicholson for paying almost £25,000 in income tax, rather than investing in either new players or an improved ground. Buck stressed that the directors were prepared to go into debt to strengthen the team, but had been unable to find suitable men to spend the money on. As an alternative the board had considered replacing the old wooden West stand with a 'double-decker' stand 'but costs were too prohibitive'. Despite repeated denials the feeling was gaining strength that the club was becoming too cautious in its buying policy.**(40)**

EARLY DAYS AT WILLOW FARM.

WILLOW FARM WAS DEVELOPED AS THE CLUB'S TRAINING CENTRE FROM THE EARLY 1950'S. MANAGER CLIFF BRITTON'S ROVER CAR CAN BE SEEN IN THE FOREGROUND. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

With a strong team now in being, expensive replacements were to be sought only if injury required them, and the emphasis was to shift back to developing and bringing on youngsters - in 1950's parlance, towards a youth policy. As Pilkington observed: **With the North End it is unlikely there will be any deal of the dimensions of those concerning Quigley and Langton while the present chairman is in office, and general indications are that his colleagues and the manager think along the same lines.(41)** The shift found practical expression in the development of Willow Farm in Longsands Lane. The search for land for a training ground began in 1950 when a number of sites were inspected. Land was purchased in April 1951 for £4,000, and Willow Farm was released from agricultural production by the Ministry of Agriculture in December. Architect's plans for the scheme were drawn up in 1954, extensive building operations began the following year, and improvements were fairly continuous thereafter. A great deal of the board's time was taken up in these schemes, and by 1956 it was clear that the club's future had become closely tied to their success. Indeed Will Scott's successor as manager was a trained architect!**(42)**

James Scotland Symon (1911-85) was born in Errol, Perthshire, and was aged 42 years in 1953. He had an excellent pedigree for a North End manager. He had made his mark as a wing half with Perth North End, signing for Dundee Violet in 1929, and the Dundee FC the following year. He played for Portsmouth in 1935-36 and from 1938-47 for Rangers, acquiring a mass of league and cup honours. He had represented Scotland at both cricket and football, and been an extremely successful manager of East Fife, taking them to promotion from the old 'B' division, to two League Cup wins and a Scottish Cup Final appearance. An intelligent and very shrewd man, he was a proven talent spotter, well able if need be, to develop good skilful sides on slender means.**(43)** Tom Finney said of him: **He was a brilliant tactician and had that happy knack of getting his players performing to a consistently high level. He was a first-class manager. In a section of the press he was considered awkward but for the players he was a sincere and honest boss. His time at Deepdale was all too short, but I never played under anyone with a better football brain.(44)**

Since the war, North End had been (in Tom Finney's words) little more than a stepping stone for the eventual FA Cup winners, and the early Fifties had been a particularly thin time. The club had been very successful in the years 1931-48, and 1954 saw the start of a similar run which was to extend until 1966, and take the club to the sixth round three times and the fifth round twice, in addition to two Wembley Finals. In 1954, the team progressed steadily towards the sixth round, via teams from lower divisions, Derby County (2-0), Lincoln City (2-0), and Ipswich Town (6-1). League form was allowed to languish, and players were rested before the later ties. In the sixth round, Preston met Leicester City, drawing 1-1 away, 2-2 at home after extra time, but going through 3-1 in the second replay at Hillsborough. The first two games drew enormous crowds, and set new receipts records for the home clubs. The Semi-final, against Sheffield Wednesday, attracted a 75,000 crowd to Maine Road. North End went through 2-0, with goals from Wayman and Baxter, in a game in which they won no fewer than 22 corners. Though Finney was 'in sparkling form', the real hero was McIntosh, the Sheffield goalkeeper.**(45)**

FINNEY LEADS NORTH END OUT AT WEMBLEY: MAY DAY 1954.

THIS WAS THE FOURTH OF THE FIVE WEMBLEY FINALS NORTH END CONTESTED BETWEEN 1937 AND 1964. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

The Final was to be against the team of the season, West Bromwich Albion. At the Semi-final stage, played on 27 March, Albion were two points clear at the top of the League, but form fell away disastrously for them to finish four points behind Wolves. The previous year's final had been the 'Matthews Final', and so the press reasoned, this would be the 'Finney Final'. This conveniently re-opened the Matthews-Finney controversy, and when Preston narrowly lost, opened Finney (the 'Sportswriters' Player of the Year') up to accusations of personal failure. The key point which was missed at the time, as it had been in 1888, was that West Brom were a very good side. In 1954, their season had been disrupted by injuries, but they had still finished runners-up and reached the Cup Final. Yet confidence in the town ran very high: **One has seldom known supporters of a Cup Final team so confident their favourites would win as those of Preston North End, or for that matter, a side with so few cares in the days preceding the great occasion. Preston partisans will not hear of defeat, neither will the team.(46)** Walter Pilkington, however, rightly feared that the Birmingham side's calamity in the League would strengthen their resolve to rescue something from their season.

The great festival of English football got underway. Eleven special trains helped to carry 25,000 supporters from Preston. The last engine departed at 9-15am, bearing a headboard reading: 'Preston North End AFC - Up For The Cup'. A great fleet of cars and motor coaches set off overnight, and four chartered planes carried enthusiasts from Blackpool and Preston. The cost of the return trip was £6-12s-6d each. As in 1938, both team colours were blue and white, and on the Friday evening groups could be seen in the West End greeting each other with rattles and hand bells. The following morning they were to be seen at the usual sites, and the Evening Post carried a fine photograph of North Enders clad in funny hats and pierrot costumes, trying to get a smile from the sentry on duty at Horse Guards. Once again female North Enders were well to the fore, with Charlie Wayman their favourite. Only the discovery that Madam Tussaud's did not contain a Tom Finney waxwork, and the £4 demanded by touts for 3s-6d tickets, raised northern indignation.**(47)**

Preston North End FC: FA Cup Finalists 1954.
(L-R) Tom Finney, Charlie Wayman, Jim Baxter, Willie Cunningham, Joe Walton, Tommy Docherty, Bobby Foster, Willie Forbes, Joe Marston, Angus Morrison, Harry Mattinson (12th man), George Thompson.
In 1954 North End's Cup run was seen by almost 400,000 paying customers! (National Football Museum)

The build up to the game had been badly handled by North End, with Finney in particular in great demand. On the evening before the game players from both teams took part in a television quiz, featuring the 'Memory Man'. Tommy Docherty won this contest for Preston. The North End side bore a strong Taylor hallmark, and comprised Thompson, Cunningham, Walton, Docherty, Marston, Forbes, Finney, Foster, Wayman, Baxter, and Morrison. Walter Pilkington's pithy précis of the match, rushed out for the Last Football edition told the story: **Yet another Cup Final provided its stark note of drama. West Bromwich Albion won the trophy with a deciding goal against Preston North End two minutes from the finish of a hard contest. Both sides held and lost the lead. North End were not at their best.(48)** Finney, who 'was heavily brought down twice in the opening minutes with at least as much justification for a penalty as that one awarded to Albion in the second half', had been decisively marked by Millard. The failure to take account of this and adjust tactics at half time was felt to have contributed to the defeat. North End's goals came from Angus Morrison and Charlie Wayman.**(49)**

On the morning of Sunday 2 May dawn broke over a town given over to post-mortems. The atmosphere lifted for the Monday homecoming, and a large crowd gave the team a rousing reception. In the speeches from the Harris steps neither Finney nor the team could hide their acute disappointment, the players looking like the 'usual suspects' in a 'B' picture, as they stared at the pavement, standing hunched in their overcoats, hands in pockets. Finney was clearly upset: **The biggest disappointment was that we had played such good football in previous weeks. Then it had to be anti-climax when we wanted to rise to the occasion.** Yet it was a huge and festive crowd which lined the streets as the team accompanied by a band of music, and teams of 'old folks' wearing team strips, processed to Deepdale amid the strains of 'Keep Right On To The End Of The Road'. At the ground the players were cheered by another immense crowd, indeed 'enthusiasm could not have been greater had they returned with the Cup'. Once inside the Pavilion the players made repeated 'curtain calls' from the upstairs windows, and all the North Enders - supporters, players and directors - joined in the renewed singing of the club's great anthem.**(50)**

With a settled side, a strong cash flow and a respected manager, North End's future seemed bright, but within weeks of the Final, Symon found the offer of a return to Glasgow Rangers too strong to resist. He was to be at Ibrox until 1967, his teams winning the Championship seven times, the Cup five times, the League Cup six times, and Rangers were runners-up in the Cup Winners' Cup twice. He left to become general manager of Partick Thistle 1968-70. With hindsight, his departure from Deepdale might be seen as the start of the club's decline. Certainly it was to be an altogether different club that was to pass to fellow Taysider Jimmy Milne in 1961.

FRANK HILL: 1954-56

After Will Scott had failed to recruit the 'unnamed' manager of a London club, he was despatched to Burnley to tempt Frank Hill with £1,750 a year. For an extra £500 he got him.**(51)** Frank Robert Hill (1906-70) took over as manager in August 1954. Born in Forfar, he played for Forfar Athletic and Aberdeen, before signing for Arsenal in 1932. A Scottish international, he won Championship medals in 1933-4-5, but was not a regular member of the great side. After a spell at Blackpool, he came to Preston where he was assistant to Will Scott in 1938-9. He became the Burnley manager in 1948 and in the three previous seasons the Clarets had finished in a very creditable sixth place. At Burnley he developed a strong defensive side, but had shown himself to be a shrewd dealer in the transfer market, being particularly successful in 'bringing on' young players. Among these were McIlroy, Adamson, Pilkington (from Leyland Motors) and future manager Bobby Seith. The hope was that in the long run he would prove similarly successful at Deepdale, but in each of his two seasons in charge the side began very well only to fade badly and narrowly avoid relegation.**(52)**

Hill's first season, 1954-55, began spectacularly well. Wayman's hat trick contributed to the 5-0 demolition of Manchester City, followed by 5-2 and 7-1 wins against Cardiff. Finney's injuries contributed to the failure after such high hopes, and a recurring back problem almost caused him to quit the game at this time.**(53)** Many felt that the team's problems had been increased by the shock transfer of Charlie Wayman to Middlesbrough in September. Though Hill clearly thought that the fee of £8,000 was a very good one for the 34-year-old player, many supporters later blamed the decision for his eventual dismissal. Wayman himself had no doubts: **North End gave me short shrift after I had wanted to end my career at Deepdale. The scales were weighted against me and I left convinced that there was little reward for loyalty. I was given the impression by the management that I had overstayed my usefulness.(54)** The release of Bobby Beattie in May 1955 caused a similar outcry.

The board continued to vote through the team selection at the start of the season, but despite the poor show in Hill's first season, it was decided not to revive the old Management Committee, 'but it was suggested that the manager be available on Thursday afternoons to meet any member of the Board who cared to attend'.**(55)** The 1954-55 season ended with the club in 14th position, having scored 83 goals but just five points clear of trouble. With no expensive signing for three years, June 1955 saw Sammy Taylor bought from Falkirk (£8,500) and Tommy Thompson from Aston Villa (£27,000). Once the fees from the sale of Wayman, Baird and Higham were taken into consideration the net outlay was reduced to about £15,000. The auspices were good. As a boy Thompson had played alongside Wayman at Newcastle, he and Finney had played together for England, the two were friends, and the opportunity of playing regularly alongside the maestro had been a positive inducement for him to come to Preston. Among seven youths signed for the long term were Alex Alston, James Smith and Tony Singleton. Gordon Milne signed professional forms in January 1956. On the debit side, North End lost their ace centre half without receiving a transfer fee, when Joe Marston and his family finally returned home to Australia.(56)

The letters page of the Football Post had become an influential forum for debate, and many of the points being raised were discussed at the AGM in December 1955. The secretary once again defended the club against the charge that junior players were not coming through, claiming that over the previous ten years more than £50,000 had been raised from the sale of such men. It was now clear to all those who could face the prospect, that the club would clearly face an enormously dangerous transition when Finney retired: **Several of the present team were ageing and the whole side would have to be replaced in three years. There was nothing in the reserves to replace them. Buying had not been good. The retention of players in the last six years, who it was obvious would never make good was scandalous.** When pressed to account for the fact that so few of the club's talented youngsters made the grade, the manager pointed to the distractions of night school, National Service and 'going without meals to do his training'. Full employment did not help matters: **'Players used to play for their livelihood, but today to 50% of footballers the game is a secondary consideration. In Scotland 75% of players were part-timers with good jobs'. Strongly pressed to define his management policy, Mr. Hill said it was his aim to get several young players at fees of about £3,000 to £4,000 to build up a good second team. He also liked to see a player at least five times before he made up his mind.(57)** Through his searching for new players he had not seen the first team play for six weeks.

Finney as centre forward: 3 November 1956.

Preston won this encounter with Sunderland 6-0, with goals from Taylor, Finney (2) and a hat-trick from Tommy Thompson. The following season North End finished runners-up in the First Division for the second time in five years, and the side was widely recognised as one of the best in Europe. An important measure of Tom Finney's greatness lies in the fact that he also played for England in all the forward positions. (National Football Museum)

Wayman had proved difficult to replace, and the same month an amazing £11,000 was paid for the 'inexperienced youngster' 20 year-old Eddie Lewis of Manchester United.(58) Lewis scored only two goals in 12 league matches for the club, a rate of return which did nothing to strengthen the advocates of a freer spending policy. Yet Tommy Thompson was an immediate success, and a tremendous start to the new season saw North End tipped as championship contenders. Thompson scored 23 goals in the League, with Finney once again contributing 17, but injuries and inconsistent form resulted in a poor season. Relegation was only just avoided, and North End finished fourth from bottom, just one point above relegated Huddersfield Town. In the FA Cup, defeat came in the third round, 2-0 away to Second Division West Ham United. With Finney frequently playing when unfit, but playing wonderfully well, North End had become a very entertaining, but conspicuously unsuccessful side, failing to maintain the successes of the four seasons preceding Hill's appointment. League form was causing the board concern as early as October, and the end came soon after the season ended: **The chairman gave a report on his conversation**

with Mr. Frank Hill, the club manager, in which he had communicated to him the Board's desire that he should relinquish his post as manager. Agreed to pay him three months wages £562-10s-0d. A few days later Mr. Hill resigned. He went on to manage Notts County (1958-61) and Charlton (1961-65). With Jimmy Milne acting manager on behalf of the directors, Tommy Docherty withdrew a transfer request.**(59)**

CLIFF BRITTON: 1956-61

The problem of finding a replacement after such a perilous season now arose. On 19 July the subject was discussed at some length, and early names mentioned were Bob Shankly and Harry Catterick. The salary of £1,500 did not prove tempting, Willie Thornton turned them down, and further names were discussed at an anxious meeting held on 9 August. These included Bill Dodgin, Alex Rowe and Joe Mercer. The board decided to offer the job to Alf Ramsey, and a very determined effort was made to persuade him to come to Deepdale, 'but he was not inclined to accept on account of lack of experience'. On 21 August, with the season under way, he was met again, and offered wages of '£2,000 plus', but still could not be persuaded.**(60)** Subsequently Joe Mercer's and Harry Catterick's sides were each to win the League Championship and the FA Cup, while Alf Ramsey was to secure the Second and First Division titles in consecutive years (the former in the year North End were to be relegated) and to win the small matter of the World Cup in just ten years. Having failed to persuade them, North End turned to Cliff Britton.**(61)** Yet in the interim, Jimmy Milne had hit upon the system which was to revive the club's playing prospects in a sensational manner, playing Tommy Finney as a centre forward.**(62)** A few weeks later, on 14 November, he made his debut and scored in that position for England.

Clifford Samuel Britton (1909-75) had made his name with Everton (1930-45), and had been a member of England's famous wartime half-back line of Mercer, Cullis and Britton. He had managed Burnley (1945-48; FA Cup finalists and Division Two runners-up 1947), and Everton (1948-1956; relegated 1950, Division Two runners-up 1954, FA Cup Semi-finalists 1953). A firm believer in a manager's freedom to manage a club in the manner he wanted and a strong advocate of the youth policy, his reluctance to invest large sums in his playing staff led to his dispute with the Everton Board, 'who wanted him to buy success'. His natural disposition was therefore one in keeping with the increasingly conservative outlook of the Preston board, yet he had clearly not been their first choice.**(63)**

Though the directors seem to have been withdrawing from direct team management from the early 1950's, Britton was to enjoy more freedom of action than any of his predecessors. His terms were clearly recorded in the company minutes: he was to have a five-years' contract, and 'The manager to have full powers over all matters appertaining to players, playing staff and scouting'. He was to be provided with a suitable house (10 Park Lane, Penwortham), but asked 'to be permitted to work without payment until April 1957'. At his second board meeting he reviewed the position of the club. He believed that the present playing staff was inadequate, and a wing half and a centre forward should be signed at once.**(64)** An extensive scouting staff would be developed, and he would liaise with the directors on long-term policy. In fact, Britton was able to develop existing resources, for Milne had found both a new centre forward and a new centre half (Joe Dunn), and the club was firmly committed to a youth policy. Indeed, as the decade drew to a close all hopes for the club's future success were increasingly pinned on it, strengthening with disastrous consequences the increasing reluctance to pay large transfer fees. The early acquisition of Frank O'Farrell (swapped for Hill's £11,000 signing Eddie Lewis) was to be his only 'big signing' until David Sneddon came from Dundee United in April 1959 (£12,000).

A bad start to the 1956-57 season was suddenly forgotten in Finney's renewed success, and the stimulation of Britton's appointment. In his new role

Preston North End FC, 1958-59.
Back Row (L-R): Cunningham, Walton, Hatsell, Richardson, Else, Kelly, Evans, O'Neil, Smith, Docherty. Middle Row: Jimmy Milne, George Bargh, Alston, Dunn, Harris, Wilson, Mattinson, O'Farrell, Farrall, C. Byrne, Wylie, Walter Crook. Front Row: Dagger, Baxter, Thompson, Mayers, Cliff Britton, Finney, Taylor, Portwood, J. Byrne, Forward: Heyes, Lambert.
(National Football Museum)

Finney had been influenced by the Hungarian, Hidegkuti, and Britton devised a plan to accommodate him: **I was always conscious of the need to keep 'free' to seek out open spaces and go searching for the ball ...I would sometimes take up the most ridiculous positions, way back deep in my own half or out on the flanks, just with the intention of putting the onus on the centre half. He had to decide whether to follow me and leave the middle wide open or stay in his territory and leave me unmarked. Unbounded possibilities opened up...(65)** At Deepdale, at least, some of the lessons learnt at the hands of the Hungarians had been taken to heart. After four defeats Cardiff were beaten 6-0 at Deepdale. Three days later came the first victory at Highbury since 1924. In September 11 points were won from seven games. In the new year the championship began to look a distinct possibility, and a good Cup run saw North End take Arsenal to a replay in the fifth round. North End finished third, tying with Spurs on a club record 56 points but with an inferior goal average. Goals came freely through Thompson and Finney, Sunderland were beaten 6-0, and in the 7-1 rout of Portsmouth, Finney secured his 150th PNE goal. He was voted 'Player of the Year' in April. On the face of things, Cliff Britton had taken over a team at the bottom of the division, and had nearly won the championship.

An even better season followed: 100 goals scored and 59 points took Preston to within five points of champions Wolves. The 'Preston Plumber's' form led Walter Pilkington to enthuse: **Great is the football glory of Finney, the artificer and designer who can so magically turn his tormenting skill into the finished product bearing the master stamp.(66)** Once again a bad start (P6. L4), and the absence of Finney and Docherty on international duty during a 'four pointer' against Wolves, cost them dear. Though this was another solid team effort, Finney's career, at 35, was clearly in its Indian summer and providing a cover under which the club should have been strengthened for his eventual retirement. Indeed, with hindsight, it is clear that these were among the most crucial years in Preston North End's history.

THE YOUTH POLICY

In his welcome at the 1956 AGM Britton stated that: **'North End's future policy will be based on producing our own players through our junior organisations'.** This did not mean that the club was not interested in new signings, but: **Fees today are out of proportion to value ...There is a greater lack of talent than ever before due perhaps to the times. In my day we had to play to entertain ourselves. There was not this TV craze. There are better jobs in industry than in football.(67)** The local leagues were once again turned to with revived interest. Fears of the likely effects of Finney's loss were aired the following year, when his groin injury was causing concern. Indeed, one shareholder feared that 'the bottom might drop out of the team at any time'. Britton was forced to defend the club's reserves: **I am not yet satisfied, but are we too prone to condemn our own men? Other teams come here and we say the moderate players are not all in one camp. I am using every means to get the club into a position from which we can**

Deepdale: 16 April 1960.

David Sneddon scores in the 4-1 defeat of Blackpool. Friendly rivalry with the Seasiders over the merits of Matthews and Finney would be revived by the events of the evening of April 13th 1970, when in front of a 35,000 crowd at Deepdale, Blackpool won promotion and Preston were effectively relegated to the Third Division. (National Football Museum)

sit back and save the rushing around for players ...I don't expect the bottom to drop out of the first team next week or next season. We have young players who can come and fit in ...I am hopeful our youth policy will bring results.(68)

The summer of 1958 was to be the high-water mark of Britton's managership, and having declined a runners-up bonus of £250 'for reasons of his own', the manager did accept £1,000.**(69)** Finney was in the England World Cup party, but an era was coming to an end, and he received his 76th cap against Russia on 22 October. This was clearly the time to begin to ration Finney's appearances, and to bring in established players to take some of the weight off him. Such a plan would accommodate the extension of his career by the extra seasons needed to bring in the youngsters, and yet allow for a measure of insurance in the event that they found the transition too sudden. Money became available through the departure of Tommy Docherty. Significantly neither he nor Finney had rushed to re-sign at the end of the season. Everton offered £15,000, North End wanted £20,000, and Arsenal paid £21,000.**(70)** It seemed a good piece of business at the time, but the money was not re-invested in the transfer market, and 'The Doc' had been a crucial - and much underestimated - contributor to the Finney legend. Britton was a strict disciplinarian, and it was said that his idea of an ideal team was eleven teetotallers. He was perhaps unlikely to endear himself to Docherty, who said of him: **I don't think I have ever seen a man who appears less able to relax in my life. He demanded a great discipline and we would never dare to be late for training. He was a cold man, difficult to approach and lacked a sense of humour.(71)**

To make matters worse, Finney's training regime was intensified, and rumours spread of a rift with the player over tactics. He had never made any bones about his dislike of playing on the left wing where he now found himself.**(72)** On 23 September 1958 the manager reported on the matter to the board: **Mr. Britton stated that while Finney preferred playing centre forward he fully understood the position of the club and was happy to continue playing where required.(73)** The issue was raised at the AGM, where he was questioned further: **North End had a wonderful understanding with Finney at centre forward. No other First Division pair could equal the goal scoring of Finney and Thompson ...When Finney was moved to outside left their effectiveness was reduced by half, and spectators lost a great deal of entertainment. Why could not someone else be moved around instead of Finney who had been 21 years on the books?(74)** A further groin injury, at Blackpool during the Christmas period, caused Finney to miss nearly all of the rest of the 1958-59 season. Though a good Cup run took North End to a lucrative third replay against Bolton Wanderers in the fifth round, the team ended in mid-table, their goals-scored tally showing a drop of almost a third.

Yet the achievements of the youth policy in the Britton era were real enough, building on the foundations left by Frank Hill, and the development of the Willow Farm training complex. In March 1957, Britton visited Dublin to watch a young goalkeeper, Alan Kelly of Drumcondra, who signed in April for £2,000 plus £2,500 in payments on his establishing himself in the side. The following September, 'Mr. Britton reported that a young player called Spavin had been taken on the ground staff at £5 a week'; on becoming a junior professional in August 1959 the Lancaster lad's wage rose to £7-8s-9d. Carlisle-born Peter Thompson signed on 1 December 1959 on £9-£10. Like Spavin, he was also a good cricketer. Another goalkeeper, Johnny Barton, signed in 1959, sensationally made his debut at the age of 16 in a North End win at Highbury. The eve of the Youth Cup Final in 1960 saw the signing of George Ross and David Wilson, both of whom had joined the staff on leaving school.

With Finney's retirement they would be thrust into the first team squad along with the members of the class of '55 - Alex Alston, James Smith, Tony Singleton - and Gordon Milne who had grown up at the ground. Even allowing for the sale of Thompson and Milne, no fewer than six of these players were to play in the 1964 Cup Final side: Kelly, Ross, Smith, Singleton, Wilson and Spavin.**(75)**

Grave doubts continued to be aired about the club's failure to invest heavily in new signings, players able to go directly into the first team. Though Britton was not prepared to rush members of the youth team into the Central League side, the manager would not spend heavily 'when some of them might be making the grade in 12 months time'.**(76)** In April 1959, the club decided to enter the FA Youth Cup competition for 1959-60. The youngsters did very well, progressing via Wigan, Huddersfield, Liverpool, Durham, Birmingham and Swansea, to meet Manchester United over two legs in the Semi-final. A crowd of nearly 20,000 saw them win the first leg 3-0, and Preston went through 4-2 on aggregate. After the first leg of the Final was drawn away to Chelsea at Stamford Bridge, the full scale of the achievement became apparent: **Preston North End's manager, Mr. Cliff Britton, merits the highest praise for getting together a fine set of youthful players in so wisely building for the club's future ...There are many more lads behind the scenes.(77)** Though beaten in the second leg (which featured a youthful Terry Venables), the team won further plaudits when it went on in June to win the Martini Youth Tournament in Geneva.**(78)**

LUTON TOWN'S ALAN BROWN AND TOM FINNEY SHAKE HANDS BEFORE FINNEY'S LAST MATCH.

DEEPDALE APRIL 30TH 1960. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

'AULD LANG SYNE'

That North End had built up one of the best youth teams in the country was beyond any doubt, but the outstanding question was, would the club be able to maintain its First Division status while they progressed further? In the 1930's Taylor had followed a similar policy of signing youths for the long term, but had never flinched from buying in costly talent. He was also quite prepared to sign numbers of older players to cover eventualities in the interim. From 1955 North End had simply stopped doing this, and costly signings became extremely rare. Only Finney's remarkably long career facilitated such a policy. A good run in the first half of the 1959-60 season was marked by the emergence of Gordon Milne as Docherty's successor. North End's last ever championship run in the old First Division came to a shattering end in a 5-4 defeat at Chelsea, with five goals from Jimmy Greaves (the best performance ever against a Preston team), but three in reply from Tommy Thompson. They finished a reasonable ninth. A good Cup run ended in a 2-0 defeat in the sixth round away to Aston Villa. Many thought that Finney would have perhaps his last chance of a winner's medal the following season, but it was not to be.

In January 1960, the Board wrote to Finney recognising his 20 years' service to the club.**(79)**

The directors and management line up before Tom Finney's final game, Deepdale April 1960.
Nat Buck (chairman) is standing sixth from the left. (National Football Museum)

Finney's immediate intentions were unclear, but there seems to have been no hint that he intended to retire, though he had suffered a recent thigh injury, and the club's insurers would not cover him for groin injuries.(80) At the start of March an approach was reported to have been made to him by the New York Soccer Club, and three weeks later he expressed a wish to make a trip to South Africa. The board urged their manager to 'try to talk him out of it'.(81) All attention now switched to the Youth team. After discussion of the retained list on 25 April the bombshell fell: **A letter to the chairman from Tom Finney was read in which the player indicated that he intended retiring from the game at the end of the season. It was unanimously agreed that Tom Finney's decision be accepted with the deepest regret and the player be informed that the Directorate fully appreciated his decision in the matter.(82)**

Amazingly, just five days later the Great Man played his 433rd and last League game, at Deepdale against Luton Town. The transitional team comprised Else, Wilson, Walton, Fullam, Dunn, Smith, Finney, Milne, Alston, Sneddon and Taylor.(83) North End won 2-0, Finney addressed the crowd from the pitch (an unprecedented event in itself), the crowd sang 'Auld Lang Syne' - and that was that. The following season North End were relegated, and have not played in the top flight since. Finney's retirement was a press sensation, and tributes to him poured in. Stanley Matthews was sorry to hear of the retirement 'of one of the greatest players this country has produced', Matt Busby said, 'The game has lost one of the greatest players in its history'. Many echoed Nat Lofthouse's sentiments: **I'm proud to say Tom is my pal. Football will be poorer without such a player. He is the greatest England footballer I ever saw and among the best in the world.(84)**

Elsie - Mrs Finney - knew that this had been the hardest decision of his life, but she also knew of the injuries and the not infrequently hostile press coverage he had endured in his career:(85) **It is not all laughter and cheers for a footballer, you know. I have seen Tom brought home with a broken jaw; carried in concussed; seen him pull up on the field of play when that nagging, crippling groin injury caught him.** She added, **'Naturally I am happy Tom has finished with Football in one piece - and still at the top of his profession'.** Finney's father spoke for the whole town, **'Tom has been a credit to his family and a fine son'.** Nat Buck, aware more than most of the huge gap now left in the club's playing strength, concluded: **We are very, very sorry. We knew Tom would have to retire some time but we were hoping it would have been put off much longer.** Forty years later there are many who still hold the view that as Tom Finney left the pitch on that April day in 1960, the golden age of English football came to an end.

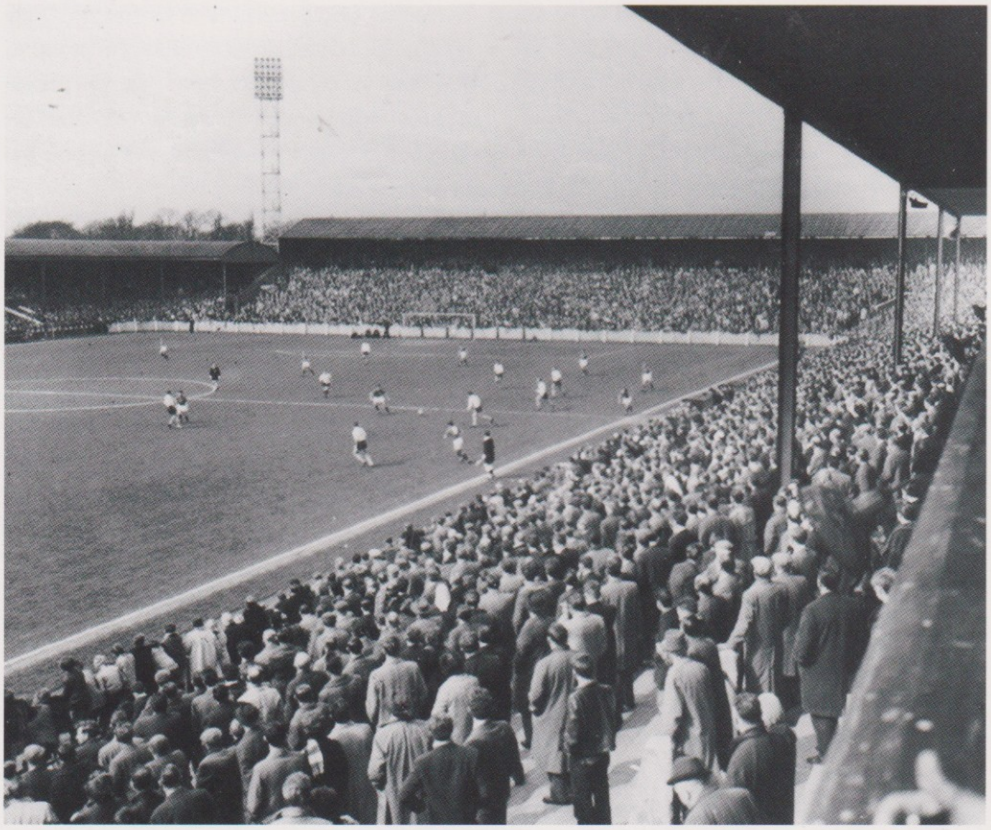
chapter

10

the boys of

'64

Finney's retirement and the team's relegation the following season were to cast a long shadow over the subsequent history of the club. Morale rapidly ebbed away, and the 'I've not been on Deepdale since Tom packed up' attitude summarised the view of many North Enders. In short, the events of 1960-61 came to be seen as redefining the aspirations of the club.



DEEPDALE, APRIL 1964.

THE FAMILIAR SCENE FROM THE PAVILION, LOOKING TOWARDS THE KOP END. THE SCENE IS NOTABLE FOR THE LACK OF ADVERTISING HOARDINGS, AND THE PHOTOGRAPHER'S THUMB PERHAPS OPERATING THE CAMERA SHUTTER IN THE EXTREME BOTTOM RIGHT OF THE PHOTOGRAPH. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

In future, standards could only fall. Holders of this view would maintain that any success - and much was achieved in the years ahead - could at best be only a pale imitation of what had gone before. It was to take the trauma of the seasons 1984-86, a quarter of a century on, to radically shake this attitude. For though club loyalty is the great strength of the British game, it does not encourage the taking of a broader view of events. It is immediately apparent that virtually all clubs experience extreme playing difficulties once a particularly gifted squad begins to break up. Many clubs have fared much worse than North End, and contemporary experience contains many examples. In the late 1950's Portsmouth fell through the divisions. Champions in 1949 and 1950, they were relegated in 1959, just escaped relegation again in 1960, and fell into the new Third Division in 1961. Luton Town, eighth in the First Division in 1958 and Cup Finalists in 1959, were relegated in 1960, and passed into the Third Division in 1963, and the Fourth in 1965. Preston's youngsters, by contrast, narrowly missed promotion and almost won the Cup as early as 1964.

Tom Finney with members of the Preston youth side, 1960.
Peter Thompson, hailed as the Second Finney, stands to Finney's right. From the mid-1950's the club had invested heavily in a youth policy, but had neglected the short term signings of experienced men necessary to ensure an orderly transition. Team rebuilding thus had to be accomplished in the Second Division, amid the loss of morale that relegation brings. In fact the policy did produce a number of very fine players, among them Kelly, Spavin and Ross who would continue to serve the club loyally long into the future. (National Football Museum)

In fact, though Finney had often carried the side, North End's loss of top-flight status after his retirement was by no means inevitable. Indeed, the extension and rejuvenation of his career following his move to centre forward had given the board an additional three seasons in which to make adequate provision. The loss of confidence at Deepdale perhaps mirrors a wider malaise in society. Many of the failings in British industry in the years ahead (real or otherwise) have come to be seen as essentially failures of investment. Professional football clubs are companies, operating in a rather cosseted market place, but the success of their products or services depends on the decisions of their directors. Given the existence of an apparently well-supported, talented side and a strong financial position, how exact was the directors' appreciation of the club's strengths and weaknesses in a changing market place? In the light of this, how rational and successful was the policy they actually pursued? The answers to these questions were to define the context of North End's progress in the years ahead.

A WELL SUPPORTED CLUB?

North End's record and troubles as a Second Division club in the late 1920's and early 1930's, finds many echoes in the 1960's and 1970's. Indeed, given that Preston is a town rather than a city club, this relative position in the order of things is perhaps natural. The club's remarkable success in the years 1934-60 clearly owed much to the dynamic personality of James Taylor, supported by the post-war football boom and the services of Tommy Finney. From 1956 tactical changes in the deployment of the latter provided a further boost to the team's performance without the additional investment in players which would otherwise have been required to preserve the club's status.

Renewed success in the short-term thus distracted attention from the long-term deterioration of the company's position. This was freely admitted by Finney himself in 1958, when he envisaged the emergence of two 'premier' divisions split on the lines of city and town clubs by the transition to a 'high' maximum wage. To the evident disgust of Walter Pilkington, he placed the Lancashire town teams in Division Two.**(1)**

The oft heard claim that North End are a 'well supported club', is a very recent development, and one firmly rooted in their recent sojourn in the Third and Fourth divisions. As a First Division club, a league based on attendances would generally fail to rank the club among the top 22. In their most successful post-Sudell season, 1937-8, for example, the average gate of 22,671 would put North End in only 23rd position. The post-war boom saw attendances at Deepdale reach an astounding 697,746 in 1948-9, but North End were still in only 22nd position in the gates league. Given the maximum wage and the club's continued playing success, this perhaps mattered little. Promotion in 1951 saw gates rise to a second all time high of 691,646, an average of 33,000. From this point, gates fell almost every season until 1964; and in 1955-6 attendances fell below half a million, pushing the average home gate to below 25,000.

The most marked trend was the fall in number of very large crowds. The 1948-9 season saw 18 gates of more than 30,000, and 1950-51 a remarkable run of eleven above 30,000. A small number of games in these years attracted 40,000 crowds. By the late 1950's only a handful of matches each season attracted gates of this magnitude. The 1955-6 season saw just two home gates of 30,000, and the average for the years 1955-60 was four. Similarly, the frequency of gates under 20,000 grew, and they were becoming familiar by the end of the decade. The relegation season 1960-61 saw 18 gates under 20,000 and four under 10,000, with a very low crowd of just 7,667 for the visit of Birmingham City on 21 January - 400 below the club's Fourth Division average of 1986-7! The club was only the 20th best-supported club in the division in 1953-4, rose to sixteenth in 1956-8, before falling back to 19th, 20th and 21st in 1958-61.**(2)**

Preston North End FC, 1960-61.
Back Row (l-r): Tommy Thompson, Alston, Walton, Else, Dunn, Smith, O'Farrell. Front Row: Fullam, Dagger, Milne, Cunningham, Sneddon, Taylor, Mayers.
This was very much a transitional side, and by the end of the season only Jim Smith, Eric Alston and the long serving Willie Cunningham would remain. A huge amount of experience was thus lost. As the youngsters took their places it rapidly became clear that the transition should have been made whilst the club, still in a strong financial position and possessed the covering skills of Tom Finney. The departure of Gordon Milne to Liverpool, just a handful of games into the season, was another harbinger of what was to unfold in the years ahead. (National Football Museum)

From the mid-1950's, therefore, North End's League gates were a cause of concern to the board, because they cut directly into the club's income. Season-ticket sales before-tax matched or exceeded the wages bill in the years up to 1955, but from this point receipts fell markedly, just as wages began a sustained and rapid rise. The FA Cup provided welcome respite, and the competition boosted income significantly in most years, particularly 1953-4 (£14,902), and income exceeded £11,000 in all the years 1957-61. The company's income from League and Cup games, and season-ticket sales, rose to almost £80,000 in 1953-4, but fell in the mid-1950's before reaching a similar level again in the 'Runners-up' season of 1957-8. It was clear that the club's survival among the wealthier clubs could be maintained in the long term only by consistent League and Cup success.(3)

The services of one of the greatest players, shrewd management and 'good housekeeping' could preserve the club's position in the short-term, but changes which threatened the club's long-term survival were steadily becoming apparent. Most significant was the rising cost of players, in terms of both transfer fees and wages. Notwithstanding a net outlay on transfers approaching £20,000 in the years 1953-5, the period of 'big signings' had ended with the retirement of James Taylor. From 1955, the club generally showed a profit on transfers up to 1961, and what appeared to be apparently good offers were accepted for Tommy Docherty and Gordon Milne when there may have been no pressing need for a sale. Wages began a sustained rise in 1956-7; from £34,505 to £51,016 by 1959-60. When bonuses and benefits are included the figure rose from £36,049 to £57,799. An increasing number of players were in the £1,000 a year class.

Between the wars, players' wages and related costs had accounted for around 65 per cent of match takings in all but the most successful years. The boom pushed this figure to below 50 per cent in the early 1950's, but it began a sustained rise in 1954-5. Wages accounted for more than 60 per cent of all League and Cup receipts after 1957, and by 1960-61 the ratio stood at just under 80 per cent. Much worse was to follow, and a figure of around 100 per cent became commonplace in the 1960's. The cost of training and team travel, by contrast, tended to stay fairly stable throughout the period. To sum up, the club made profits in most seasons, but the record £38,424 of 1952-3 was not to be surpassed until 1974-5. From 1955 the balance on the Profit and Loss account rose fairly steadily from £17,367 to stand at more than £35,000 in the years 1959-61. Had the board wished to make signings to provide for Finney's passing the war chest was clearly there to do so. As things turned out, the decision was to be made too late.

The company's profitability was thus closely related to the team's performance and transfer spending. The season 1956-7, when League gates fell to under 500,000, is perhaps the key period in the evolution of the board's policy. The emphasis on youth was intensified with the appointment of Cliff Britton, and it was thought that the club's dependence on costly signings might become a thing of the past. In the circumstances this was a rational business response, but its success could be apparent only in the long-term, perhaps up to a decade. In the short-term, critical signings were not made, with predictable consequences when Finney retired. In the much harsher climate ahead, the youth policy ensured the club's survival, though only as a nursery to the larger clubs. The remarkable successes of 1963-4 achieved by Jimmy Milne with slender financial resources showed what the policy might have achieved if sufficient attention had also been given to short-term investment.

JIMMY MILNE (1961-7): THE END OF THE MAXIMUM WAGE

The loss of First Division status in 1961 was almost averted, and just four extra points would have kept North End up. All the familiar arguments of recent years were voiced at the AGM in December 1960, and Cliff Britton once again 'emphasised the prevailing dearth of outstanding talent, even when clubs were prepared to pay the existing high transfer fees'. North End were prepared to pay £40,000 for Young of Hearts, but he preferred to go to Everton. Tom Nicholson again led the onslaught. Only new signings, he argued, would keep the club out of the Third Division. Given the absence of bridging signings the undoubtedly talented youngsters had to be unfairly pitched into the fray; and in the absence of Finney the team's goal tally was almost half that of the previous season. During the winter the club made desperate efforts to recruit quality players, among them Clive Clark and Ian St.John, but all failed. As Britton concluded: **The club's policy had concentrated on youth. This had been fairly satisfactory, but this season had**

not produced quite the standard required. New players could not be signed for one reason or another.(4) It was a close-run thing, and the manager may have been correct in asserting that a couple of good wins in December would have turned things around.

On 27 April the board learned that the chairman had asked for and received Britton's resignation. Nat Buck asked to be allowed to resign, but was persuaded to stay on as chairman.**(5)** Walter Pilkington was appalled, and in an article headed 'Pilot Goes Overboard' he defended Britton's record. He had been 'a manager of high principles, who took all the blame upon himself in shielding his players, and paid the penalty'.**(6)** He managed Hull City (1961-69), retired as general manager there in October 1971 and died in 1975. Though the board's first choice for a replacement manager seems to have been Johnny Carey, the long serving Jimmy Milne at last moved into the post on 10 May. The signs were not propitious. Action by the Professional Footballers' Association in 1960-61 had ended the days of the maximum wage, and

Preston North End FC 1961-62.

Back Row (l-r): Singleton, Cunningham (captain), Ross, Kelly, Wylie, Smith. Front Row: Wilson, Biggs, Dawson, Spavin, Thompson.

Though Willie Cunningham will shortly pass Finney's record of over 400 games for North End, the changes wrought by Jimmy Milne are clearly apparent, when this side is compared with that of the previous year. This was a very difficult period: average gates had fallen to 13,000, and would fall to under 12,000 the following year. Thus just a year after relegation attendances had fallen to levels not seen at Deepdale (with the exception of 1929-31) since the before the First World War! Once the side had settled the recovery in 1963-64 was remarkable. (National Football Museum)

Johnny Haynes had become the first £100 a-week-player in January. Closely related to the regulation of wages was the 'Retain and transfer' system which meant that a club virtually owned a player once he signed his contract. The player could move-on only with the club's consent, as Tom Finney had found to his cost. In the summer of 1960, George Eastham's failure to obtain his release from Newcastle United set in train the 'Eastham Case', which reached the Courts in June 1963. The practice was judged to be 'an unjustifiable restraint of trade', and the following year a new system was introduced, though complete freedom of contract was delayed until 1978.

Though unjust to the players, the two pillars on which the greatness of the Lancashire clubs had been based were crumbling fast. The cycle of rebuilding and promotion would not now be as straightforward as it had seemed in 1901, 1925 and 1949. Within this new order Jimmy Milne had to find some accommodation. North End's 'top line' wage was raised to £25 plus £5 'appearance money'. Relegation to a lower division followed by a great clear out of players, meant that the wage bill fell initially, but from 1963 wage costs spiralled, so that by 1965 they were double what they had been ten years earlier. By the start of what was only North End's 17th season out of the First Division, 17 players had been released or transferred. The later sale of Fred Else and David Sneddon realised £34,000, which paid for the acquisition of Dave Barber and Alfie Biggs. October 1961, saw the signing of the outstanding centre forward Alex Dawson from Manchester United, for a further £20,000. Among these signings Milne's most important capture passed un-noticed in August 1961: **I went up to Chester-le-Street in the North East to watch a full back, and Howard Kendall was playing in front of him. He took my eye, and after talking to his father we managed to sign him.(7)** Building on the youthful foundations left by Britton, a new team was in the making. There was to be life after Finney after all, if in more modest surroundings.

The trauma of 1960-61 was laid to rest at the annual meeting in December 1961. Tom Nicholson accused the board of 'basking in the radiance of Finney's great football', but the meeting looked ahead, and welcomed Milne's initiatives. In recent months approaches had been made to 34 of the 250 men who had been watched, and the signing of Dawson, Milne revealed, 'was due to United's manager, Mr Matt Busby, doing North End a favour'. Vice-chairman Jim Ingham defended the board against the charge that it did not take its duties seriously: 'No-one has done that. We are responsible for a heritage which we value, and are prepared to work to preserve it'. He also supported the suggestion that a Supporters' Club be established, which the board 'would be very glad to see come into being'. The shift forward to a more progressive policy was confirmed in October 1962, when Ingham became chairman on the resignation of Nat Buck (d.1974).**(8)**

JIM INGHAM (CHAIRMAN 1962-4)

James Herbert Ingham was the managing director and grandson of the founder of the Bamber Bridge firm of Ingham & Tippings. He became a director at Deepdale in 1945 at the age of 40, and had been well schooled in the ideas of James Taylor: **The young lieutenant was sedulously groomed even to being 'inoculated' with a passion for Scottish football which perpetuated the traditional style of the 'Old Invincibles', and he proved to be an able disciple.**

Since 1950 he had been vice-chairman, and was thus the natural heir apparent. Though he led the club with flair, he followed Buck's policy of not interfering with the team, and left management in the hands of Milne and the club secretary George Howarth. Ingham was ambitious, and his all-too-brief period as only North End's fifth chairman, was marked by a return to a more positive policy. Supporters who had left the club following relegation would be won back, promotion secured: **Every effort will be made to revive our fortunes**

and create new interest ...The acquisition of players to strengthen the side is a 'must' as far as I am concerned, and this progressive policy will have the unanimous support of the board.[9]

Ingham held office for only two years, and his sudden death in January 1964, at the very point when North End's Cup Final run and promotion chase were fast gathering pace, was an unmitigated disaster. Indeed, his loss may have eclipsed Finney's retirement in its long-term implications for the club. He left an estate in excess of £150,000, making him North End's wealthiest chairman by some distance.[10] After two poor seasons in the Second Division: **He had had enough of retrenchment, and was convinced that boldness pays... Mr. Ingham would never have it that a club down and apparently out could not still buy big and fight back... He wanted North End back in the limelight, not confined to limbo of cast-in-the-mould, second-raters, supported by the faithful, tolerated by the better-off clubs and ignored by the national press.[11]** He died just as these ambitions were taking shape.

North End found life in the Second Division very tough, both on and off the pitch. Relations with the Westminster Bank quickly resumed the central importance in club affairs that they had in the early 1930's. Since the club did not own their ground, the overdraft of just £15,000 was to be firmly pegged to the value of the club's property.[12] League gates, which had stabilised at around 24,000 in the late 1950's, fell precipitously to 16,804 in the relegation season, and to an average of 13,067 and just 11,694 in the first two seasons in the lower division. Expenditure on players worsened this situation and resulted in losses of £13,141 in 1961-2, and a massive £33,284 in 1962-3. The healthy balance on the Profit and Loss account of almost £40,000 in Finney's last year had become a negative balance of over £10,000 by 1963, as the board gambled on a return to the First Division. A number of fine players came to Deepdale, to build on the foundations of Kelly, Ross, Wilson, Singleton, Spavin and Co., whilst in Peter Thompson many felt that Preston had a second Finney. Doug Holden (£8,000) and Ian Davidson (£15,150) arrived just before Christmas 1962, to be joined by Nobby Lawton (£11,500), Alec Ashworth (£15,000) and Brian Godfrey (£9,750) the following year. On the other hand, Willie Cunningham passed Tom Finney's appearances record in the 1961-62 season.

PRESTON NORTH END FC, 1963-64.

GEORGE ROSS AND HOWARD KENDALL CAN BE SEEN STANDING BEHIND DAVE WILSON, AND THE CLUB'S REMARKABLE GOALKEEPING RESOURCES ARE WELL ILLUSTRATED BY MESSRS BROWN, KELLY, BARTON AND STEWART. SITTING EITHER SIDE OF THE MANAGER, THE BLACK PRINCE AND NOBBY LAWTON GIVE CREDENCE TO MILNE'S ASSERTION THAT MATT BUSBY HAD 'DONE NORTH END A FAVOUR' IN RELEASING THEM. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

The club's great Cup form continued. In the tremendous run of 1962, which saw the defeat of Liverpool over three games, North End took Manchester United to a replay in the sixth round. By 1963 many of the club's brightest prospects were attracting the attention of other clubs, particularly of Liverpool and their manager Bill Shankly. In March 1962, a story in the Daily Mail linked Thompson with Everton, who it was later suggested wanted Dave Wilson as well. When Thompson was called up to the England World Cup party rumours intensified. In October the Sunday Express carried what Milne claimed was a fictitious interview with him over the player's future. A week later, Wolves made an offer. The Board discussed the matter at the end of the month, and voted out Cartmell's motion that 'Thompson was not going to be a player of the high standard they had expected, and should be sold'.[13]

and they did not meet a First Division team again until the Final. A single goal saw them past Carlisle United, playing in the fifth round for the first time: **'All that matters is the result', intoned Pilkington, 'a goal beautifully taken by grafter Spavin from an opening carved out for him by sheer chance settled this ding-dong struggle between mettlesome teams'.[22]** The sixth round saw North End away to Fourth Division Oxford United, Dawson and Godfrey scoring in a 2-1 win. Their fellow Semi-finalists were Manchester United, West Ham United and Swansea Town. The draw paired the two Second Division teams, and all attention switched to Villa Park.

Preston North End FC. FA Cup Final squad 1964.
Back Row (l-r): Ross, Kendall, Donnelly, Singleton, Kelly, Davidson, Smith, Lawton. Front Row: Wilson, Godfrey, Ashworth, Dawson, Spavin, Holden.
(National Football Museum)

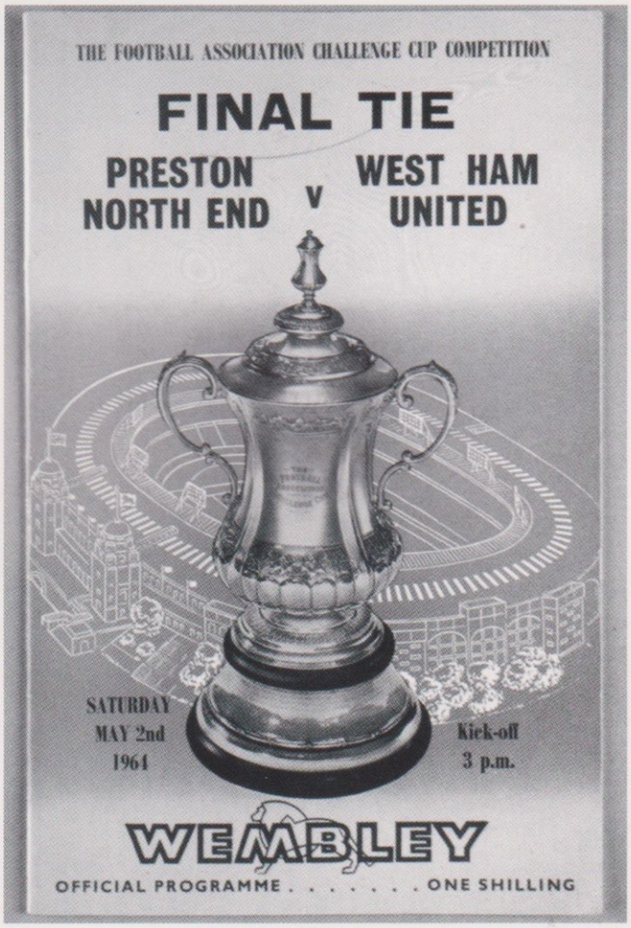
North End's fine league form raised hopes as thousands of cars, 91 coaches and the usual special trains, were reported to be heading south. This was North End's first Cup Final run of the motorway age, and the town was almost emptied of cars. In a match fought desperately by Swansea - playing in their first Semi-final - goals from Dawson and Singleton enabled Preston to overturn the Welshmen's first-half lead. Their goal, scored on the stroke of half-time, brought out the passion and self-belief of Milne's side in what was in the circumstances a great North End performance:

While it may be somewhat invidious to single out anyone for special credit, I feel special praise is due to Ross, who played splendidly in coping with a fast and a dangerous opponent; to Singleton for his manful blockade of the middle; to Lawton for never ceasing to urge his men to greater effort and setting the example; to Davidson for giving one of his best displays; to Dawson for pounding away at a concentrated barrier and helping out in defence; and to Holden for his intelligent grasp of what was required in the circumstances.[23]

At this point both promotion and a Cup win were possible. Scot Symon cabled the Preston manager: 'Well done, Jim. Heartiest congratulations and best wishes'. Walter Pilkington analysed the remarkable turn round in the club's fortunes: **Jim Milne and the behind-the-scenes team of directors who trust in his knowledge and judgement have seen a transformation wrought by judicious building, after an initial reduction of the playing staff by 17 to cut the costs to what had become an almost breadline income. One buy after another, all of them carefully weighed up in the light of League experience and potential brought the desired results, not the least of which was a financial uplift to offset last season's deficit of over £30,000.[24]** North End missed both objectives by only the narrowest of margins, but how different the whole history of the club might have been if it had been possible to retain Peter Thompson for one further season. Liverpool, by contrast, with Shankly and the North End training methods, youth policy graduates Milne and Thompson, and their eyes firmly set on a number of the current North Enders, were now establishing their remarkable domination of English football, winning the League championship in 1964 and the Cup a year later. At this moment of signal achievement at Deepdale, the old ascendancy of North End's style of football had, in a sense, passed to Merseyside, where it would prosper for most of the century.

The Final was generally thought likely to be a very one-sided affair against a West Ham team loaded with talent and containing the youthful Bobby Moore, Geoff Hurst and Martin Peters, who were to return to Wembley two years later with some success. The Preston captain, Nobby Lawton (and it seems the Upton Park management) took a different view: **West Ham are a team who enjoy their game the same as we do ...If both teams go into the match as I believe they will this could be a classic Cup Final, like that of 1948 between Manchester United and Blackpool. We want the Cup and believe we can win it and do Preston proud.(25)** Yet North End's Cup Final hoodoo was to strike again, and as the team left for their Weybridge hideaway, a press bombshell exploded. Regular wing half, Ian Davidson, took leave of absence to attend a relative's funeral, and so missed a 'Cup rehearsal' in a league match at Northampton. When Milne discovered that this had been a ruse, the board suspended the player for a fortnight ensuring that he would miss the Final. Seventeen-year-old Howard Kendall was now promoted with Milne's full confidence. The lad was amazed: **I could not believe it anyway. My father said last night I should forget it, then I wouldn't be disappointed. Now it has happened, and I am too delighted for words ...I don't think it will bother me all that much. I sincerely hope not.(26)**

The christening of Prince Edward prevented the Queen from attending Wembley, but the migration got underway on Friday 2 May. Many took blankets to sleep in their cars, and a party of 100 North Enders flew from Blackpool. There was much competition among the media, the game was extensively previewed on TV, and plans were made to rush film of the Final to local cinemas by Monday evening. The drama of the 17-year-old youth playing in a Cup Final had caught the attention of everyone, and the game proved to be one of the best Cup Finals ever seen at Wembley.**(27)** The team - Kelly, Ross, Lawton, Smith, Singleton, Kendall, Wilson, Ashworth, Dawson, Spavin and Holden - gave one of the club's proudest performances. Holden, playing in his third Final, gave Preston the lead after nine minutes, Sissons equalised immediately, but Alex Dawson restored a 2-1 lead just before half-time from Dave Wilson's corner. A sensational Cup win by the first Second Division side to reach the Final since 1949 seemed on the cards, but future England manager Ron Greenwood rang the changes at half-time. North End almost made it 3-1, but an equaliser from Hurst looked likely to take the game into extra time. Many felt that Preston were the stronger side in such an eventuality, but Alan Kelly was injured, the game restarted before he was properly recovered, and with seconds to go Boyce scored the winner. The game had produced 39 goal attempts, 21 of them on target, with Kelly making 10 saves and Standen 11.**(28)**


THE FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION CHALLENGE CUP COMPETITION
FINAL TIE
PRESTON NORTH END
v
WEST HAM UNITED
SATURDAY MAY 2nd 1964
Kick-off 3 p.m.
WEMBLEY
OFFICIAL PROGRAMME . . . . ONE SHILLING

PROGRAMME: FA CUP FINAL 1964.
(NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

'Vanquished but Proud', was Pilkington's verdict. Bobby Moore praised North End's football, 'which had us worried many times'. Overnight Kendall became something of a national hero, and Preston gave the team a rousing welcome: **The town was painted blue and white - everyone had either a hat, rosette, flag, or banner of some kind, and it seemed as if the entire population was there, from babes in arms to pensioners in wheelchairs. The atmosphere was as electric as that of Wembley itself and a background of furious rattle-waving and bugle-blowing accompanied the crowd singing 'Glory Glory Howard Kendall', and later 'We want North End'.** Police struggled to maintain a way between the Station and the Market Square. The Mayor told the players that they had won the admiration of all England, and one by one the men addressed the huge blue and white crowd. Tony Singleton told them they would try again next year, Alex Dawson said they had done their best, and George Ross summed up the team's feelings: 'Being a Scotsman (cheers), I am a foreigner among you (laughter and cheers), but I feel I'm part of you now (prolonged cheering)'. After a civic reception the triumphal procession wended its way to Deepdale.

The crowd by Guttridge Memorial Church cheered their Sunday School organist, who had recently become the youngest player to take part in an English Cup Final. Walter Pilkington's newspaper account rose to the heights of his predecessor 'Perseus': 'The wind whirled blue and white refuse through now almost deserted streets - the aftermath to a tremendous tribute to a great team'.[29] Jimmy Milne received more than a hundred letters of congratulation from Scotland alone, and a special letter was also received from a character in a television soap opera.[30]

Coronation Street,
Wetherfield.

To the lads of Preston North End
I know nowt about football but I watched you all on Saturday and, believe me, I was very proud of you. It was real bad luck to miss the Cup. You certainly deserved it. Ah well you did your best and that's all that matters.

God bless you, Ena Sharples.

DAILY EXPRESS
COMMUNITY SINGING
FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION CUP FINAL
PRESTON NORTH END
v
WEST HAM UNITED
SATURDAY 2 MAY 1964
EMPIRE STADIUM
WEMBLEY

SONG BOOK: 1964 CUP FINAL.
(NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

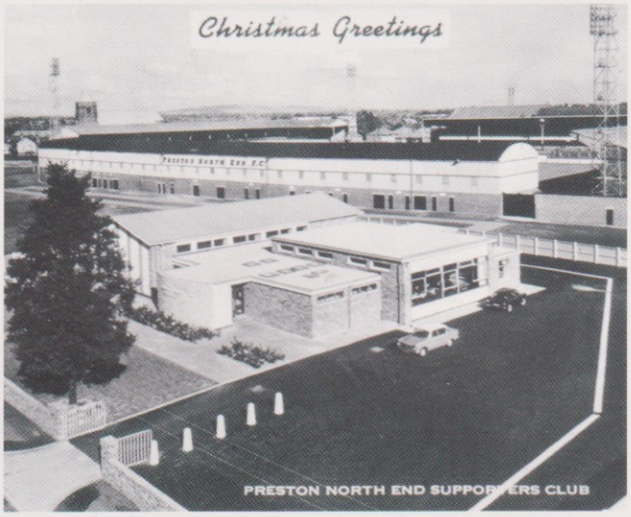
That the fame of the North End club had reached the 'regulars' in the snug of the Rovers Return was a measure of greatness indeed. Like them, the vast majority of North End's supporters had seen the game in their own homes. Television, a wonder ten years before, was now a familiar part of the domestic landscape, which in the years ahead would transform football itself. A few months later the Government announced that the new wonder plane, the TSR2, was to be built at Preston. The town and its football club seemed to be on the verge of a new golden age. Both were cruelly disappointed.

TURNING POINT: THE TRANSFER OF HOWARD KENDALL

The Cup Final players received two-year contacts and most remained at Deepdale into the later sixties, but the high hopes raised in 1964 were not realised. Promotion was theoretically attainable well into the 1964-5 and 1966-7 seasons, but relegation was a real threat in 1965-6 and 1967-8, and became a reality in 1969-70. Injuries played their part, notably in 1964-5, but the team's form was too often simply erratic. In 1965-6, the team enjoyed a last wonderful Cup run and defeated Cardiff 9-0 in the last game of the season, yet narrowly avoided relegation.(31) The following season the side won the first ten home games, but scored just six goals in the first ten away games! With hindsight, the critical long-term downturn in the team's playing performance can be traced to the events of 1967, but it is one of the great attractions of the game that it is often only quite late in the season that hopes of success are finally dashed.

A good example is the Cup run of 1966. Having defeated Charlton Athletic 3-2 away, the fourth round revived memories of 1964. A replay against Bolton Wanderers at Deepdale was won 3-2, with two penalties scored by Brian Godfrey. The fifth round saw an epic encounter with Tottenham Hotspur at Preston, 'Super Spurs' going down 2-1, after leading through a Jimmy Greaves goal. The quarter-finals brought Manchester United to Deepdale. In front of a crowd of 37,876, North End took the lead through Dawson, only to see Herd bring the game level when many felt he was offside. At Old Trafford, Singleton equalised after Denis Law had given United the lead, but North End eventually went down 3-1. Though the tie could have been won at Deepdale, almost 100,000 people saw these two games, and the players had acquitted themselves very well.(32)

The club's failure to move forward in these years was closely related to the board's cautious policy, which was in turn a reaction to barely break-even gates of 15,000, and soaring player costs. Wages and related costs rose £15,000 to £60,000 in 1963-4, reflecting the team's success, but did not fall back thereafter, and had reached £70,000 by 1967 and £90,000 two years later. In simple terms, by 1967 these costs exceeded takings on the gate.(33) The bank would not sanction an extension of the overdraft, which had to be covered by the club's property. The failure to acquire Deepdale outright, now became a seriously limiting factor in relations with the bank. Alternative funding had to be found. Chairman Allan Harrison, who had succeeded Jim Ingham in



THE SUPPORTERS' CLUB, 1965.
CHAIRMAN JIM INGHAM HAD HIGH HOPES OF ESTABLISHING A THRIVING SUPPORTERS' CLUB, AND SMART NEW PREMISES WERE ERECTED ON THE SW CORNER OF THE CAR PARK. DURING THE EARLY YEARS VERY LARGE SUMS OF MONEY WERE RAISED BY MEMBERS, AND THESE BECAME A SIGNIFICANT ITEM ON THE BALANCE SHEET. FRICTION HAS NEARLY ALWAYS DEVELOPED AT FOOTBALL CLUBS BETWEEN THE BOARD AND THE SUPPORTERS' COMMITTEE THROUGHOUT THE HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT WHICH BEGAN IN THE 1920'S. PRESTON WAS NO EXCEPTION, AND ULTIMATELY THE BOARD DISASSOCIATED ITSELF FROM ITS OWN SUPPORTERS' CLUB. IN THE BACKGROUND CAN BE SEEN THE RE-EDIFIED WEST STAND WITH THE MUCH CELEBRATED NAME OF THE CLUB EMBLAZONED ON IT. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

1964, followed his predecessor's policy of encouraging the growth of the Supporters' Club. The enterprise had begun well as Harrison stated in his Chairman's report of 1964: **Our congratulations are due ...on the opening of the new Club Premises, which must be amongst the finest in the country. It is being excellently supported by its many members and should be an invaluable asset to the Town and the Football Club for many years to come.(34)** Gifts to the parent rose steadily to exceed £11,000 in 1966-7, but the beginnings of a rift were becoming apparent as early as 1965, when the committee informed the board that they would 'like to see more of them'.(35)

Since neither the directors nor the supporters appeared to be willing to fund expansion, through personal guarantees or high admission prices respectively, the obvious way out of the board's problems was to subsidise the club by selling player assets. By the mid-1960's, requests for transfers had reached an unprecedented level. David Wilson had a long-running dispute with the club, and the League tribunal intervened on his behalf in October 1966. Howard Kendall also asked for a transfer, which was similarly turned down, but once he was 21 he would have to be offered a new contract and would be free to leave.(36) On 8 November Kendall made a second request, and Liverpool upped a previous offer to £75,000. Events now developed a momentum of their own, but much still depended on the success of the team, which was well in contention for a promotion place. Rumours of Kendall's departure were rife, and on the eve of the AGM in December the board had discussed the matter at length. It was decided that ultimately they had no choice but to transfer him, local reaction would be very bad, so it would be announced that the player had asked for a transfer which they had rejected.(37) At the meeting members were accused of defeatism, and warned that the club would be in the Third Division 'in two or three years'. By the end of January, North End's Cup run had ended, and promotion was an increasingly distant prospect.(38)

DIRECTORS' MEETING, BOARDROOM, DEEPDALE 1969.
AT THE HEAD OF THE TABLE LONG SERVING SECRETARY GEORGE HOWARTH CAN BE SEEN WITH HIS DIRECTORS' MINUTE BOOKS, FROM WHICH THIS HISTORY HAS BEEN COMPILED. AN ALMOST TIMELESS SCENE, WITH THE LION SKIN PRESENTED TO THE CLUB ON THE 1958 TOUR OF SOUTHERN AFRICA CLEARLY IN THE BACKGROUND, AND THE WAR CUP IN THE TROPHY CABINET. TOM NICHOLSON (CENTRE FOREGROUND) WOULD SHORTLY SUCCEED ALLAN HARRISON TO THE CHAIRMANSHIP, AS THE CLUB SLID EVER CLOSER TO THIRD DIVISION FOOTBALL. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

In February, the League tribunal fixed Wilson's transfer fee at just £20,000, a vast reduction on the sort of sum discussed before the transfer of Peter Thompson. He was quickly snapped up by Liverpool. By doing all they could to keep a player, the board had lost tens of thousands of pounds - a mistake they would not make in future!(39) At this point Kendall put in his written request for a new contract, which the club must now offer him. If he was sold money would be available for signings, and the board discussed in detail what their policy would be. The outcome, though predictable, was to have a lasting impact on the club's history: **It was generally agreed that the acquisition of higher priced players would present too many problems for a club of our standing.(40)** For virtually the next thirty years, upcoming prospects would be sold, and replaced by older players who, whatever their individual merits, had usually seen their best days and would have little or no sell-on value. A cycle of decline was thus confirmed.

Howard Kendall's transfer was announced on 11 March. As the minutes relate: **The chairman had met him and asked him what he wanted, but the player had been adamant that he wanted a move to First Division football. His subsequent transfer to Everton at a fee of £85,000 was confirmed. The fee payable immediately.(41)**

Fears that the club would be perceived as a 'Liverpool nursery' had apparently weighed against the Anfield offer. Alex Dawson also left to join Bury FC, so that £115,000 had been raised from sales in just three weeks. Harry Catterick was highly delighted with his purchase: 'Kendall is another splendid investment for our pool of young players'.**(42)** That he joined Alan Ball, recently acquired by Everton from Blackpool, was no consolation. The standing of the town clubs was shifting rapidly for the worse, and though the board had resisted the loss of Wilson and Kendall, relegation three seasons later was to be the fairly inevitable consequence at Deepdale. In the same season Everton won the championship.

ROBERT SEITH 1967-1970: 'THE CARNIVAL IS OVER'

The team's failure in 1966-7 to develop a sustained promotion drive, its rapid exit from the FA Cup, and the Kendall transfer cut deeply into Milne's position as manager. Yet the financial problems facing the club in 1967 were not as great as has been suggested. The negative balance on the Profit and Loss account was only £11,000, a sum covered more than ten times by the subsequent sale of players. This was converted into a £10,000 balance, the natural loss for that season was covered, and the remainder was spent on players. In a short period Jim Forrest (£30,000), Jim McNab (£15,000), John Ritchie (£15,000) and Archie Gemmell (£13,000) joined the club. The new financial year saw the balance swept into a near £50,000 debit, as the club's spending spree brought in Derek Temple, Ray Charnley, Ken Knighton, Graham Hawkins and Willie Irvine. Amidst all these changes of personnel it was perhaps not surprising that the team began to falter. The extent of the change in the style of press coverage now became apparent, and it had become an important factor in the club's internal affairs. In the past, even Arthur Brierley's or Walter Pilkington's strongly-coded and discreet questioning of team affairs had merited instructions to the club secretary to summon them to a meeting with the board's representatives, but criticism of Milne's management in the Lancashire Evening Post now became intense.

The moment of crisis was reached in November with a 5-3 defeat at the hands of Blackburn Rovers at Deepdale. The team's showing drew headlines comparing it to the current national financial crisis: 'Blackburn Profit By Deepdale Devaluation', and 'half the team' was said by Alan Hubbard to have shown 'sheer indifference'. The paper carried extracts from all the national papers, and letters from the public. The Guardian set the general theme: **If ever a scoreline gave an erroneous impression this one does ...Only Kelly in goal stood between Preston and annihilation ...it would be an act of mercy not to dwell upon the many failings of North End ...it would be sad to see such proud associations languishing in the Third Division.(43)** The following week Robert Seith was brought in from Glasgow Rangers as team coach, with Milne moving over to general manager. Yet another Taysider, Seith had played for Monifieth Tayside Juniors before embarking on a successful career, winning championship medals with both Burnley (1960), and Dundee FC (1962). The 35-year-old cut a markedly different figure from Jimmy Milne, and was frequently pictured in the press taking an active part in training matches with the players.**(44)**

Great interest was taken in Seith's first team selection: **The new team manager looks to have**

selected a genuine 4-2-4 line-up after his first full week at Deepdale, moving midfield player Alan Spavin from inside left to inside right to link up with left half Jim McNab, and give a better balance to the side. Ross, Smith, Singleton and Ritchie will probably be his back four, with Smith acting as sweeper-up, and Lee, Forrest, Lyall and Temple seem to be his front runners.(45) Perhaps no manager had taken over the club at such an unpropitious time, confidence was very low, and a run of draws was followed by six successive defeats. The air of crisis was most apparent at the annual meeting. Though players now frequently refused to come to Preston even when their terms had been met, other clubs had similar problems, and shareholder Ted Allen perceived a deeper malaise: **We have purchased in recent years two complete forward lines and still we have the weakest in the Second Division. The present change is not sufficient: we need new blood on the Board.** Jimmy Milne thought that changes in tactics brought about by the 1966 World Cup had contributed to the club's setbacks, along with the abolition of the maximum wage, and spiralling player costs.(46)

Yet Seith impressed Hubbard. He was 'young, forthright and able', and the signing of Willie Irvine brought some relief. A run of eight games undefeated left the club in 20th place, four points more than relegated Rotherham and Plymouth. In 1930 they had been just two points (but five positions) clear. In May 1968, Seith was given full managerial control, and Milne retired to become chief scout: **The appointment has pleased the players with whom he is extremely popular. A gifted soccer theorist his knowledge of the modern game has certainly saved North End from relegation to the Third Division. Now, with the backing of everyone at Deepdale, I am sure he can take the club right to the top.**(47) His sides played a tight game. Seith's first full season in charge saw North End finish nine points clear of relegation, scoring just 38 goals (less than one a game) and conceding only 44. Only once did they manage to score more than two goals, and they kept clean sheets on 18 occasions! Of the 38 League goals, Irvine had scored 15, so that his injury in the 1969-70 season would have predictable consequences.

Despite the absence of a fully-fledged youth policy, the club continued to develop fine players, who offered the hope of better times. Their forced sale, often for what later came to be seen as virtually knock-down prices, struck repeated blows at the morale of the club's supporters. Average gates fell off the 15,000 plateau after the 1968 season, and apart from 1971-2 have never regained it, marking a further stage in North End's retreat. The club reported a trading loss of £25,000, and the deficit on the Profit and Loss account rose to more than £70,000. Facing a desperate fight to stay up, Ken Knighton was sold to Blackburn for just £45,000. Allan Harrison defended the decision: **The need to sell the player was due entirely to pressure from the bank ...If we had not accepted the offer from Blackburn, we would not have been able to pass cheques.**(48)

Relegation was almost avoided, but a fine 4-1 win against Charlton made memorable by a wonder goal from Derek Temple did not spark a revival. In the penultimate game of the season North End were at home to Blackpool, who required a win to clinch promotion. Despite Blackburn Rovers' apparent willingness to 'do North End a good turn', Blackpool won 3-0 and North End were in the Third Division, forty years after the crisis of 1929-30. Herein lay the revival of old rivalries, but it is interesting that despite the unbearable tension, there was no trouble in the huge and unsegregated crowd which, for the last time, was allowed to spread along the very touchlines. A year later the roles were to be more satisfactorily reversed for the North Enders, but Deepdale was never to see so large a League gate again. The merciful release came with a 2-1 defeat by Cardiff, marked only by a thunder-bolt goal from an unlikely source - Bert Patrick. North End thus finished bottom of the Division, five points away from safety. Irvine had managed just 16 games and the sale of Knighton had proved decisive. At the end of the match, the sombre yet thoughtful mood was captured by the tannoy which played the Seekers' song 'The Carnival is Over ...We will never meet again', and at Bamber Bridge the mourners prepared to lay the Preston coffin a level deeper in the 'crypt' of the 'Old Original' public house.

BOUNCING BACK WITH ALAN BALL: 1970-73

Alan Ball swept into Deepdale like the proverbial 'new broom'. The much-respected Allan Harrison had stepped down as chairman in December, making way for Tom Nicholson. The Lancashire Evening Post had favoured Seith's dismissal in February, and once relegation became a fact, urged his dismissal: **The directors will have to face up to their responsibilities, and drastic changes will have to be made ...a complete overhaul is necessary.(49)** Two days later Seith was sacked. The paper welcomed the decision, justifying it with publication of Seith's League analysis: **Played 108, Won 27, Drawn 33, Lost 48, Goals For 103, Against 144.** The directors it maintained: **Should be prepared to dig into their own pockets. This may be a hard thing to do, but anyone who cannot do it has no right to be on the Board unless he has other abilities just as worthwhile as hard cash.(50)** Robert Seith was shocked by the decision, and Graham Hawkins was reported to have asked for a transfer in protest. The debate was led from the columns of the Lancashire Evening Post by sports writer Norman Shakeshaft. Asked to explain the club's decline on the BBC's 'Look North' programme, he argued that its troubles went back 'eight or nine years' and was due to a 'series of mistakes at board and management level'. Tom Finney looked back ten years: 'When I finished in 1960 a great side was breaking up. Action should have been taken then'.(51) Robert Seith returned to Scotland to manage Hearts (1970-74), his time at Deepdale being memorable for the emergence of the prodigious talent of Archie 'Go-Go' Gemmell. The old Scottish ascendancy at Deepdale had come to an end - for the time being.

Among the proposed candidates for Seith's job had been Billy Bingham, Jimmy Armfield and Ian St.John. Alan Ball (1924-82), described by The Guardian as the 'James Cagney of football', had been sent off eight times in a playing career with Birmingham City, Southport, Oldham and Rochdale.(52) His management of Halifax Town (1967-70) had seen their rise to Third Division respectability, and would have led to their promotion again if they had not lost him to Preston. He was the father of the England World Cup star, and had an encyclopaedic knowledge of football in the lower divisions. Tom Nicholson later spoke of Ball's interview: **We liked his style, his dynamic approach, and the forthright manner in which he answered all our questions. We told him what we wanted, and we told him to get on with it. And get on with it he did!(53)** He quickly reported that eight of the playing staff 'could safely be dispensed with', and that 'Messrs J. L. Milne, G. W. Bargh, W. C. Cunningham and W. Sheerer were surplus to his requirements'.(54)

Finances would not allow a spending programme. Wage costs had risen to over £90,000, 114 per cent of gate receipts, though the Supporters' Club continued to pay money into the club, and the new Development Fund had contributed £50,000 in just two years. At a board meeting on the 28 July: **The chairman detailed the position with the bank ingoings and outgoings to December 1970. It would appear that we should have to find some £50,000 out of revenue to clear our existing liabilities, which on the face of it was impossible unless of course we sold a player for a big fee.(55)** Efforts were made to sell Lyall for £12,000, and Ball who was clearly well used to the realities of football at this level, told the board he was prepared to sell anyone. Everton were interested in Gemmell, who was spirited away and signed by Brian Clough of Derby County for '£59,000 clear'.(56) Within a season this was to appear a ridiculously low figure for such a great player. Short-term desperation now meant that the club could no longer wait to extract the real value from their investments. The situation improved only marginally, but Bobby Ham was brought from Bradford City (£7,750) to form a forward partnership with Gerry Ingram, and Peter Doherty was appointed assistant manager. Player signings had to be funded by sales, and efforts were made to try to sell Ricky Heppolette to Blackpool to fund a bid for Arfon Griffiths of Wrexham. In November the NatWest Bank reduced the overdraft limit to £24,000.(57)

Preston North End FC. Division Three Champions 1970-71. Back Row (L-R): Arthur Cox, George Ross, David Hughes, Gerry Ingram, Gerry Stewart, Alan Kelly, Jim McNab, John Bird, Graham Hawkins, Harry Hubbick. Front Row: George Lyall, David Wilson, Clive Clark, Alan Spavin, Alan Ball, Bobby Ham, Bert Patrick, Ricky Heppolette, Alex Spark.

The side that accomplished one of the most rapid turnabouts in the club's history, returning to the Second Division after just one season in the Third. Ironically the Championship was secured a year after the disastrous defeat by Blackpool in 1970. Almost 30,000 saw Alan Spavin's super free kick give young Rotherham goalkeeper Roy Tunks no chance as North End won 3-0. Deepdale has not seen a crowd of this size for a League match since. (Harry Hunt)

The search for players went on. Through the town's Caribbean fruit trade, arrangements were made to bring Keith Douglas of Trinidad for a trial(58). In December the great theme of Ball's managership began: **He would like Keegan of Scunthorpe for a fee of about £10,000, and would be seeing the player at the weekend.** A second offer of £18,000 was turned down after it had seemed to be on the verge of success.(59) The personal guarantee of a wealthy backer, such as Merrick Hollins or Bert Ingham, or individual guarantees from the board members, at this stage, would have secured the player. Arguments with the bank over the club's overdraft thus continued, and in March John Bird was bought from Doncaster Rovers for just £5,000. After a shaky start the team were close to the top of the division for most of the season, leading Shakeshaft to observe that the 4-3-3 formation was the same as Seith's, but with Ham replacing Gemmell. He felt that relegation might have been avoided if Hawkins had been kept at centre half.(60)

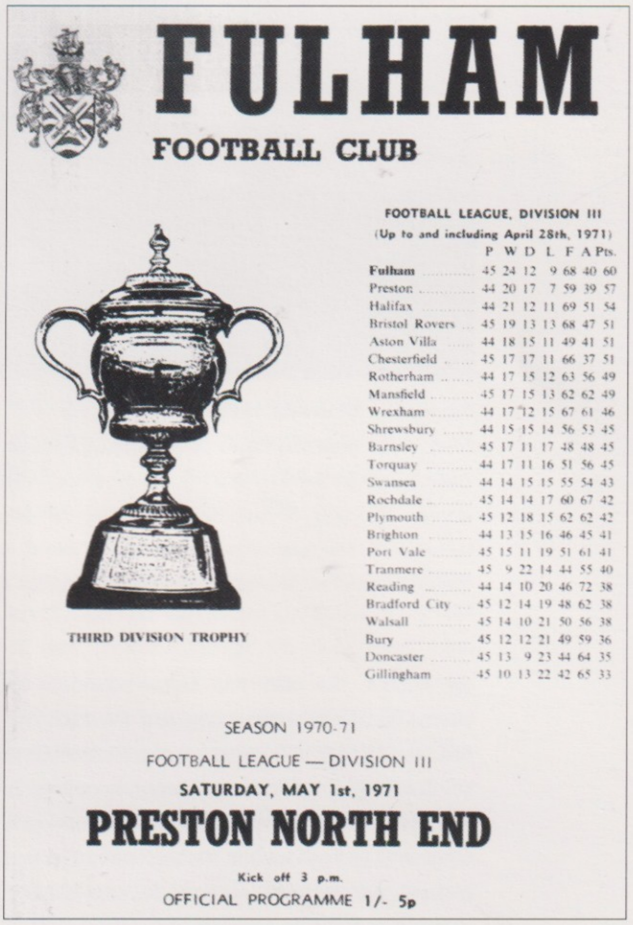
The season's climax came at Fulham, where a 1-0 win secured promotion. Alf Ramsey was impressed: **Certainly, in terms of football skill there was plenty of good play and Preston's Alan Spavin was outstanding.(61)** Tommy Trinder, expecting Fulham to clinch the championship, was said to be speechless, but sent a case of champagne into the Preston dressing-room. The title was secured the following Monday, a year after the Blackpool game, with a 3-0 win over Rotherham United in front of 28,221 spectators. Spavin scored two goals, to round off his best season. One of the goals came from his spectacular freekick first seen against Bristol Rovers on 'Match of the Day'. For a new generation of North Enders who had not seen Finney play, Spavin kept alive the vision of what North End football might yet be again.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE BANK...

Despite the outpouring of enthusiasm which greeted the club's first title success since 1951, any hope of a sustained club revival was choked off by continuing financial problems. In March 1971, the club assets were revalued at around £85,000 (Willow Farm £13,000, club houses £35,000, the Pavilion £35-40,000), but the bank complained that North End's overdraft was £8,000 overdrawn at

£32,000. So 'in view of the attitude of the bank' the board refused to transfer £5,000 to reduce it.**(62)** Only with difficulty were funds obtained to buy Hugh Maclmoyle (£18,900), a centre forward whose goals would be vital if the club were to survive in the Second Division. The higher wages demanded by new signings stretched the club's pay policy, and the resulting resentment among the long-serving men was to be a contributing factor in the fall of the Ball regime. Throughout the autumn, discussions with the NatWest Bank continued, and the overdraft was extended to £35,000, with a further £15,000 as a temporary expedient. Lloyds Bank refused to improve on this.**(63)** Yet by November, the actual debt had risen to almost £60,000. Desperate for money, the board agreed to transfer £7,000 from the Development Fund, and turned their attention to the Supporters' Club. After a meeting between the two groups, the directors felt that the club 'had developed into a members' club and support for PNE was only incidental'. The chairman felt that the club should be able to pay 'in the region of £500 to £750' every month. Though £2,000 was paid over in December relations between the two sides were deteriorating rapidly.**(64)**

Ball's success had to depend on his skill in the transfer market, to identify likely prospects, and to sell players on, even for small fees. The sale of Bobby Ham to Rotherham for £9,751.50 is clearly a case in point, but the board (and the bank) failed to support his judgement over Kevin Keegan, allowing Bill Shankly and Liverpool FC gleefully to step in and sign the sensation, literally at the last minute. When efforts to sign Bobby Gould and Peter Thompson stalled, Ball was forced into making his greatest error, and one that almost ruined the club. Amid continued complaints as to the high level of borrowing, and with a lucrative Cup match at home to Manchester United in prospect, Manchester City offered David Connor and Neil Young through a scheme of extended payments, totalling £88,890, with £10,000 down and 35 payments of £2,000 a month.**(65)** At a time when the club was living from week to week the burden was enormous, and this was to be no repeat of Jim Taylor's successful scheme in 1931. Their wages of £90 a week blew a sizeable hole in the wages structure, and the seeds of disaffection were sown. Doubts as to Young's fitness began almost immediately and the pair managed just 98 League games between them. In March, Allan Harrison 'outlined the extremely serious position faced by the club', and in May George Lyall was sold to Notts Forest for just under £40,000. The team clung on to their hard-won status by just three points.**(66)**



FULHAM

FOOTBALL CLUB

FOOTBALL LEAGUE, DIVISION III
(Up to and including April 28th, 1971)

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts.
Fulham	45	24	12	9	68	40	60
Preston	44	20	17	7	59	39	57
Halifax	44	21	12	11	69	51	54
Bristol Rovers	45	19	13	13	68	47	51
Aston Villa	44	18	15	11	49	41	51
Chesterfield	45	17	17	11	66	37	51
Rotherham	44	17	15	12	63	56	49
Mansfield	45	17	15	13	62	62	49
Wrexham	44	17	12	15	67	61	46
Shrewsbury	44	15	15	14	56	53	45
Barnsley	45	17	11	17	48	48	45
Torquay	44	17	11	16	51	56	45
Swansea	44	14	15	15	55	54	43
Rochdale	45	14	14	17	60	67	42
Plymouth	45	12	18	15	62	62	42
Brighton	44	13	15	16	46	45	41
Port Vale	45	15	11	19	51	61	41
Tranmere	45	9	22	14	44	55	40
Reading	44	14	10	20	46	72	38
Bradford City	45	12	14	19	48	62	38
Walsall	45	14	10	21	50	56	38
Bury	45	12	12	21	49	59	36
Doncaster	45	13	9	23	44	64	35
Gillingham	45	10	13	22	42	65	33

THIRD DIVISION TROPHY

SEASON 1970-71
FOOTBALL LEAGUE — DIVISION III
SATURDAY, MAY 1st, 1971
PRESTON NORTH END
Kick off 3 p.m.
OFFICIAL PROGRAMME 1/- 5p

Programme: Fulham FC, 1 May 1971.

The penultimate match of the season saw North End away to promotion rivals Fulham who had to win to secure the Championship. A note inside the programme indicated the feeling that the trophy shown on the cover would soon be theirs. A wonderful low diving-header on the far post by Ricky Heppolette, however, settled the matter, and Tommy Trinder good naturedly sent the team a case of champagne. Alf Ramsey was particularly impressed with Spavin - one of the outstanding players of the last 40 years. (National Football Museum)

TRAINING AT DEEPDALE 1972.

(L-R): ALAN TARBUCK, DAVID WILSON, ALEX BRUCE.

OVERLOOKED BY THE WRITER'S MUCH MISSED SEAT IN THE WEST STAND, WILSON AND BRUCE TOGETHER WOULD SPAN ALMOST 35 YEARS OF THE CLUB'S HISTORY. AN EXPLOSIVE FORWARD, THE DUNDONIAN BRUCE WOULD BE THE MAINSTAY OF THE TEAM IN THE YEARS AHEAD, AND IT IS INTERESTING TO SPECULATE WHAT THE OUTCOME MAY HAVE BEEN IF NORTH END HAD BEEN POSSESSED OF SUCH A REGULAR GOAL MACHINE. (ALEX BRUCE)

By August, the club had fallen behind in its payments to Manchester City, and the debt had risen to £121,000.**(67)** Despite the sale of Mel Blyth to Coventry City, the company's accountants reported in October that the liabilities exceeded the tangible assets by £45,000. Through sales, Ball had raised £230,000, and spent £120,000, but £80,000 of this had been the never-never deal for Connor and Young. The team won their ninth game on 19 November, taking them to fourth in the league, but form now collapsed just as a sale became essential, and they were to win only two more games in the rest of the season. At this juncture, the sale of Ricky Heppolette to Luton Town raised £43,500 but was utterly suicidal. On 30 January the Board was informed that if £6,000 was not lodged with the Inland Revenue by 4pm on the following Friday proceedings would begin against them.**(68)**

A run of four straight defeats and the 5-0 home defeat by Portsmouth on 10 February 1973 brought matters to a head. This was the club's heaviest home defeat since 1949, and was accompanied by chants of 'Ball out', and 'Sack the Board'. Spectators at this game could be under no doubt that Ball had lost the support of the players. Many agreed with Norman Shakeshaft's verdict: 'The worst display I have ever seen from a Preston side'.**(69)** The following day, a Sunday, the board met at 3pm: **After discussion it was unanimously agreed by the Board that Mr. A. Ball's position as Manager of the club be terminated forthwith.** On the Monday, having dismissed their manager, the directors held a meeting with their bankers - a clear indication of where power lay at Deepdale.**(70)** Frank Lord was brought in as caretaker manager, and all came to depend on the last home game of the season against promotion-chasing Burnley. The pitch was narrowed to keep Leighton James in check. Nicholson's reason was that the pitch had been rough on one side, and Frank Lord said that the drainage had been bad. The 1-1 draw pleased everyone, except the crowds who stayed behind at relegated Huddersfield to hear the predictable result relayed.

Alan Ball had been a surprising choice for the manager of a somewhat old-world and dignified club: **I will bring you success without dignity ...The people who talk about the First Division being our 'rightful' place are talking rubbish. Our rightful place is where we are now.(71)** But, he had brought an air of reality to Deepdale. He had shown that the club's continued decline was reversible, and in Keegan had found perhaps the greatest English player of the decade, had yet been unable to sign him. At the key moment, when further progress had seemed possible (after the 4-0 demolition of league leaders Millwall in December 1971) he had similarly been unable to strengthen the side. Ball had suffered heart trouble before the start of the season, and had needlessly polarised opinion with his clashes with away supporters at Huddersfield on 2 December (the end of the club's good run), and Grimsby on 13 January. The constant need to sell players, and the desperate Connor-Young deal had undermined his schemes. Many felt that he had been made a scapegoat, and attention now switched to calls for the reform of the Board. Not without good reason, Alan Ball left Deepdale a bitterly disappointed man.**(72)**

HOWARD KENDALL IN HIS PRESTON DAYS.

KENDALL'S TRANSFER TO EVERTON FOR £85,000 IN MANY PEOPLE'S EYES WAS THE START OF NORTH END'S DECLINE, ULTIMATELY LEADING TO RELEGATION TO THE THIRD DIVISION. (PRESTON NORTH END)

chapter

11

once proud PRESTON

The end of the maximum wage in 1960 did not bring about the immediate ruination of the Lancashire clubs that many had predicted. Though their attendances continued to fall, and by 1961 were around 10,000 lower than they had been in 1946, Blackburn, Burnley, Bolton and Blackpool continued to perform satisfactorily in the First Division.

rent Phos.
OTHERS ST.
BLACKBURN

Ewood Park. Blackburn Rovers v. Preston North End. 24 March 1979.

Bruce scores a spectacular goal to give North End a 1-0 victory over their old friends. Mick Rathbone fails to hold Bruce, and Tony Parks can only look on helpless as Eric Potts and Brian Taylor prepare to celebrate. (Alex Bruce)

North End could claim with some justification that their own loss of top status was due to special circumstances - and boardroom mistakes - associated with Finney's retirement. Indeed, the club came close to winning both promotion and the FA Cup in 1964. But once hopes of a speedy return to the First Division faded, the underlying financial fragility of the club meant that long-term economic trends accelerated by the strengthening of the players' wage and contractual position, became apparent earlier at Deepdale than elsewhere. For apart from a brief period around the middle decades of the century, the company had been under-capitalised since 1893. During the late thirties and early 1950's tangible assets had been built up in the form of a house portfolio and the Willow Farm property, but critically the Deepdale ground had not been purchased from Preston Corporation. Thus as the club's assets melted away, it could not follow the usual path trod by football clubs, of extending its overdraft at the bank by mortgaging the ground.

The rise of land values throughout these years increased the value of the suburban Deepdale estate spectacularly and would have facilitated a steady extension of credit. On the other hand, a number of clubs have ultimately found themselves homeless! In practical terms this meant the sale of a player a year to balance the books, and usually this was the previous season's 'Player of the Year'. Looking back over these years, and at the array of talent which the club lost, it is hard to escape the conclusion that if the conveyor belt could have been stopped for almost any three seasons up to about 1980, the team's performance would have been turned round. In the pre-war days this is just what would have happened, but times had changed and North End's name alone could no longer attract and hold players eager to develop their short careers. The harsh truth was that the club had become merely a provider of top-class players for other clubs. Yet here also was enshrined the guiding principle of how North End's long-term decline would ultimately be reversed: a sound financial cushion enabling long term planning would allow the club's strengths - its loyal supporters, ideal mid-Lancashire location and proven ability to recognise and develop playing talent - to assert themselves. Though the old fires were to burn dim in many of the years ahead, they would not go out, and the great revival and remaking of Preston North End would come. Yet it was to be another close run thing.

As the sixties wore on, however, the problems first apparent at Deepdale became more universal. Up to 1961, all five 'Lancashire' clubs were in the First Division, four survived to 1964 when Bolton were relegated and North End became the last of their number to reach the Cup Final in the twentieth century. By 1968, only Burnley held their place and their relegation in 1976 really marks the end of an era. Yet North End's brief slip into the Third Division in 1970-71 marked the start of a more alarming cycle, which saw all of the five clubs in the lower divisions. Blackpool entered the Fourth in 1981, and had to seek re-election in 1983. North End followed in 1985, and ended the next season in 91st place. With the abolition of re-election and automatic relegation, Burnley just managed to stay within the League on the last game of the season in 1987. Only Blackburn Rovers managed to pull clear. Attendances fell alarmingly. Burnley and North End's reached a nadir of 3,204 and 3,402 respectively in 1985-6; Blackpool managed just 3,002 in 1982-3, and mighty Bolton had average gates barely rising above 5,000 between 1984 and 1989. North End's difficulties in these years thus have a much wider resonance, one which none of the local clubs could reverse. Their collective plight at this time was made much worse by the marked decline of football as a spectator sport. It was no longer fashionable, nor even respectable, to be a football supporter.

ALAN JONES AND TREVOR HEMMINGS

The 1972/73 season had been one of the club's most difficult, both on and off the pitch, but the team's Second Division status had been preserved. Alan Ball had been sacked on 11 February, and the Burnley match had been played on 28 April. What happened next astonished the football world. Four days later the story broke that Bobby Charlton, of

Manchester United and England, was to take over as manager with a newly-reconstituted board to provide him with funds for team building.(1) Deepdale had experienced something of a revolution. The immediate origins lay in rumours of boardroom splits, which were aired in the press towards the end of 1972, amid widespread disquiet among supporters over the running of the club. This gathered pace as the team's form collapsed, and spread into a general attack on the board following the sacking of Alan Ball.

In November, Norman Shakeshaft writing in the Lancashire Evening Post, outlined the club's financial plight, with debts of £135,000, and losses of £1,500 a week. He identified the five options open to the club:

(1) The directors could 'put more of their own money into the kitty'.

(2) A millionaire could be found to finance the club. Perhaps Fred Pontin might oblige.

(3) A launch of new shares.

(4) The club could be sponsored by a large firm, such as Leyland Motors.

(5) Preston Borough Council might buy the club, and support it through the ratepayers funds.(2)

Perceived by the board to be antagonistic, this article in fact finds a place among the key documents in the club's history, since it set out clearly for the public the practical options facing North End. One month later Fred Pontin did acquire a block of 250 shares, while in the future a public share offer was launched, the club was ultimately to be saved by a local firm, and a close relationship was developed with the Borough Council. In the short term Shakeshaft's first option was to be most influential. Amazingly, the long-established practice of the directors submitting personal cash guarantees to the bank to cover the overdraft seems to have ended at Deepdale in the mid-thirties. Thereafter, the only personal liability most directors had was the loss of their share ownership in the event of the company failing. Nearly all directors had very small holdings. By the time they had become chairman Taylor and Buck owned just 15 and 73 £1 shares respectively: by contrast the investors of 1996 were asked to purchase a minimum of 100 £4 shares. The first 'new money' put into the club, had come from the 'Fifteen Year Notes' purchased by supporters in 1970, and the schemes of 1973 were to be based upon bank guarantees from members of the board. These were never called upon. Not until ten years later did the members of the Preston board, then chaired by Keith Leeming, have to part with their own cash.(3)

ALEX BRUCE. 1978.

PRESTON NORTH END'S JOINT SECOND LEADING LEAGUE GOAL-SCORER WITH THE GREAT TOMMY ROBERTS. ONLY FINNEY SCORED MORE. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

The dismissal of Ball was greeted with cries of 'Sack The Board', and at the Duck Inn on Fishergate a 'Deepdale Action Committee' was formed.(4) Unlike the discreet groups of shareholders who had comprised such bodies in the days of William Ord, this group vehemently criticised the directors. The directors' refusal to countenance a share launch, which was seen at the time as the best option, raised a storm in the local press, and the Lancashire Evening Post boasted 650 column inches of letters of protest.(5) As the revolutionary ferment grew, Shakeshaft's words took on an ominous tone: **The directors dance on, but it may well be that they signed their own death warrant last Saturday.(6)**

The club's intractable financial problems reflected the ongoing mood of national economic crisis at this time, and nothing, of course, was known or said about the bank's role in the events. A consortium of eight 'Business and Professional men' led by Tom Croft now proposed to take over the company. A series of meetings with the bank and the consortium were held, and direct talks took place on 3 and 10 April. The following statement was issued: **In the best interests of the shareholders the Board, as their duly elected representatives, pledged that when the sum of £150,000 has been deposited in a Bank Account for the benefit of Preston North End Football Club limited, they, the Board, would resign and individually support a proposal to issue 250,000 new shares with voting rights.(7)** In the meantime, they urged everyone to pull together to help save the team from relegation.

Having appeared to be 'set to quit' on the 4th, the board now refused to resign, and Shakeshaft accused them of having 'wriggled off the hook'. Three days later the consortium withdrew their offer. On 17 April, with just four games to play, North End facing relegation, and the Action Group threatening a boycott, it was reported that the chairman, Tom Nicholson, favoured a compromise in which three directors would resign to make way for three of the new men, allowing the cash injection to go ahead.(8) The chairman was now approaching 70, and it had been known for some time that he wished to stand down. The key element in the affair was local millionaire businessman Trevor Hemmings, who was to join the board with associates Gerald Brown and accountant Michael Johnson. The 'cash injection' was to take the form of directors' personal cash guarantees to the bank; each member of the new board was to pledge £10,000, and Trevor Hemmings a further £60,000 to underpin an overdraft capacity of £150,000. This 'new money' would be called upon by the bank only if the company failed.(9) On 30 April, two days after the decisive draw with Burnley, Tom Nicholson, Allan Harrison and Tom Charnley resigned, to be replaced on the board by the Hemmings group. The new chairman was to be 45-year-old surveyor Alan Jones, who had joined the board in February 1971. Trevor Hemmings became vice-chairman, and the other members were Messrs Bolton, Brown, Gore, Griffith, Johnson, Wilde and Pilkington.(10)

Preston North End FC, 1973-74.

Back Row: McNab, Brown, Spark, Kelly, Wilson. Middle Row: P. Robinson, M. Woods, Young, McMahon, Baxter, S. Bird, H. Hubbick, J. Crompton. Front Row: Bruce, Lamb, Hawkins, Bobby Charlton (manager), Spavin, Holden, Snookes.

After narrowly avoiding relegation in an epic encounter with Burnley, Alan Jones and his fellow directors decided on a surprise approach to Bobby Charlton during a breakfast meeting held at the home of Trevor Hemmings. Amidst great enthusiasm, and underpinned by the latter's guarantee at the bank, a new era began at Deepdale. The following season Charlton came out of retirement to play for the club, alongside fellow World Cup winner Nobby Stiles. (National Football Museum)

Shakeshaft hoped that a more business-like approach would bring about a transformation. He particularly welcomed the involvement of 37-year-old property developer, Trevor Hemmings: 'He is the

Mr. Big in the deal'.[11] Though Hemmings was rarely able to attend meetings, he worked closely with the chairman and was involved in the running of the club throughout the Jones era (1973-82), whilst Michael Johnson brought greater financial discipline. The club was seen strictly in business terms. It was to be kept under stringent financial control and the first priority was to be the survival of league football in Preston. The second was to sign or retain players of as high a standard as the club could afford without prejudicing its survival.[12] The club's relative stability in the Jones era stands in marked contrast to the period which followed, despite the lapse of Hemmings's additional guarantee in September 1976. Though an orderly progression rather than blood in the boardroom had been the outcome of the revolutionary ferment, events now moved very rapidly, and a sensational story broke on 2 May.

BOBBY CHARLTON (1973-5)

On the Sunday morning following Bobby Charlton's final game for Manchester United, Alan Jones, Cyril Pilkington and Trevor Hemmings met at the latter's house to discuss the vacant managership at Deepdale. Charlton's name came up. He was telephoned, visited at his home the same day, and offered the job. After a couple of days to think the offer over he duly swept into town.[13] The boost to the club was immediate: **From the start, I knew I would probably end up as Preston's manager. They were the first club to come and see me and ask me to be their man. There had been tentative offers from other clubs, but as far as I was concerned, it was a case of first come first served**. A tremendous wave of enthusiasm swept the town, and the Lancashire Evening Post looked to a new beginning: **Charlton's capture is something of a coup for the new board who knew that Preston North End's day of reckoning had arrived following the disastrous show in the latter half of the last, Houdini-like season.[14]** It seemed that the whole outlook of the club had been changed round in a single week, but as events were to show, the impoverished club was taking a great risk in appointing an inexperienced manager to oversee its largest-ever injection of outside cash.

Jimmie Scott with Alex Bruce, Dundee 1974.
As head of North End's Scottish scouting system, based in Dundee, Jimmy Scott was responsible for providing a steady stream of very talented players whose sales sustained the club in the 1970's and 1980's. (National Football Museum)

In many respects, this marked a defining moment for the club. Alan Jones later defended the choice of Charlton: **I still believe that because of the state the club was in, we needed someone of Charlton's undoubted reputation and international stature. Ultimately, it didn't work out, but at the time it was right.[15]** In addition to new funds the club could boast a remarkable array of rising talent which the club's youth policy had nurtured. Much of this success was due to the scouting system run by Jimmy Milne and Jimmie Scott. By the time that Scott was made redundant in July 1982 after 29 years' service, it was estimated that his discoveries had netted North End more than £2.5 million. During the 1970's, his signings sold-on by the club included Archie Gemmill, George Lyall, Alex Bruce, Mick Baxter, and Mel Holden. Bobby Charlton made the Dundonian chief scout, and Scott moved briefly to Preston, before returning to Dundee in 1978.[16] By this time, however, a change in the rules for signing young Scottish players in favour of the home clubs seriously handicapped the recruiting policy which James Taylor had bequeathed. In 1973, this fundamental deterioration of the club's traditional outlook lay in the future, and the seventies were to witness a remarkable blossoming of young players, which also included Mark Lawrenson, Alan Lamb, Ricky Thomson, Tony Morley, Gary Williams, Steven Doyle, and Gordon Coleman.

With the club's finances temporarily shored up, the club looked ahead with some confidence, and season-ticket sales reached their largest figure since 1955. Charlton's policy was to strengthen the team in the short term to allow time for the youngsters to come through. A strong Manchester United presence developed, reminiscent of that in the early-1960's and the mid-1990's. Francis Burns (£30,000) and Nobby Stiles (£20,000), were joined in November 1973 by David Sadler (£15,000). Jack Crompton became Charlton's assistant, and Alan Spavin rejoined the staff. Other important signings included Ray Treacy from Charlton Athletic (£35,000) and Mike Elwiss from Doncaster Rovers (£75,000). Taken in conjunction with the club's existing players this appeared to be a significant strengthening of a side whose insurance value exceeded £550,000.**(17)**

Hopes for a progressive season were cruelly disappointed. A home win over Sunderland in mid-October before a bumper 21,000 Deepdale crowd marked the end of a bright start, and the side won only four more League matches. The career-ending injury to Alan Kelly after just five games recalled a similar injury to Peter McBride in 1912 - a disaster that had been followed by the club's relegation. To make matters worse, in the first of the League 'shake ups' three sides were to be relegated in 1974; ironically this innovation had originally been proposed by a desperate Tom Houghton as a means of preserving North End's First Division status back in 1901. Amid the utter crisis which had developed by the New Year, the amazing decision was taken in January to sell goal ace Alex Bruce to Newcastle United (£125,000). This was said to be an offer which could not be refused.**(18)** Since the struggle was to go to the last game of the season, and the departed Bruce still ended the season as top scorer, it is hard to escape the conclusion that his sale sealed the club's and ultimately the manager's fate. Many felt that relegation should have been avoided; a point was lost by using an ineligible player; and Charlton seemed to lose heart in the final run in, just as the other clubs began to drop points.

Relegation was followed by yet another sensational May development. Bobby Charlton would come out of retirement and play in the Third Division: **I expect to play a full season for Preston. I feel fit enough to play a full ninety minutes, and the 12 months rest since leaving Old Trafford has done me good.(19)** The signing of one of the world's most famous players had cost North End just £500 and was warmly welcomed, but had it come three months earlier to cover Bruce's departure the side must have had a good chance of pulling clear of relegation. Enthusiasm was tempered by the transfer of long-serving and much-liked Graham Hawkins to Blackburn Rovers. Hawkins and John Bird had developed an important partnership in defence, and his loss was to prove a severe one for Preston, but a great boon to Blackburn. Inspired by the World and European Cup veteran, North End made a good start and led the division by late September. Form fell away in November, but the mood remained upbeat and Charlton could speak of 'the good times ahead' at the 1974 AGM.**(20)** He had not used up the transfer funds, which would be required for the drive 'to Division One'. Shakeshaft was amazed at the third division club's apparent complacency, and the congratulations Charlton had received on the 'excellent sale of Alex Bruce', which he felt had been a disaster.**(21)** By February promotion seemed a possibility, but form again fell away with just two wins after 22 February. In this period the team secured just 10 out of 28 points, but still missed promotion by only seven. Though Holden and Elwiss emerged as genuine goal providers, injuries to McMahon, Sadler and Lamb proved critical.

THE SECOND COMING OF ALEX BRUCE

The harsh realities of life in the lower divisions were by now clear, and in the close season a sudden 'good offer' from Sunderland for Mel Holden (£120,000) was accepted, even though Charlton was reported 'to have no idea how to fill the gap'.(22) As doubts began, he squashed rumours of dissent at the club: 'There isn't anything wrong in the club at all. The attitude of the players couldn't be better and the directors are right behind me'.(23) Three months later Charlton's third bombshell broke at a board meeting on Thursday 21 August: **Discussions took place upon a possible transfer deal with Newcastle United involving J. Bird in exchange for A. Bruce plus £50,000. The manager informed the Board that unless negotiations were broken off, he would resign his position. The Board pointed out to the manager that the transfer deal would proceed and then accepted the manager's resignation with regret.** Charlton claimed to have resigned on a point of principle, and carried the National press with him. He believed that Bird was worth significantly more than had been offered: **I will not have players at the club that I do not want. So far as I am concerned neither Alex Bruce nor Mick Burns ...could get a place in my team. If the directors are going to make the decisions and just want someone to carry them out they can get anybody to do that.** Though he felt that promotion was impossible without Bird, it was reported that he would not have resigned if the bid had reached his own valuation of £200,000.(24)

Support for the beleaguered Preston board came from an unlikely source. In the local press, Norman Shakeshaft questioned the timing of Charlton's departure. The side had won the opening two games: **But they won only two of their last 14 last season and Charlton was very lucky not to get the sack. The board could be criticised for their decisions - and I still believe that Charlton should not have been appointed in the first place. But they decided to give him one last chance.** He had acquiesced in the earlier cost-cutting departures of assistants Jack Crompton and Norman Bodell, and the recent transfer of Holden. He also questioned the valuation that Charlton put on Bird, which he claimed did not match up to his earlier estimates: **Bobby would have sold him to Blackburn for a much lower sum 15 months ago than was received this week and, I understand, had put a figure of not much more than £30,000 on him for insurance purposes.** At the root of the dispute, Shakeshaft claimed, was Charlton's refusal 'to buy and sell as much as the directors would have liked', and the belief among the directors that the club had adequate cover for Bird, whilst an incoming attacker would strengthen the side's chances of promotion. In short the board was implementing its long-established policy of balancing the books by selling players, and it felt that this was a good deal for the club. On the other hand, as Alan Jones later recalled, "Bobby went on his 'point of principle' but significantly, he has never returned to soccer management".(25)

PRE-SEASON TRAINING 1974.
RICKY THOMSON, DAVID SADLER, FRANCIS BURNS, BOBBY CHARLTON, JOHN SMITH AND MICK BAXTER (JANET BAXTER).

An interesting insight into the personality of this footballing icon was provided by a letter in the Blackpool Evening Gazette. After a 2-1 defeat at Port Vale the writer approached a clearly depressed Charlton, asking him if he would 'say hello' to his grandson. Though pressed for time, he spent a good five minutes chatting to the lad and seemed to be genuinely interested.(26) Perhaps football team management simply wasn't him, and the team's record over the 89 League games he was in-charge is far from impressive. Less than a point a match was won, and the club was relegated:

P89 W29 D25 L35 F105 A119

Yet North Enders can feel proud that Bobby Charlton played 38 League games for their club, and that one of the century's greatest players is styled, 'of Manchester United, Preston North End and England'. A future soccer Knight and one of the game's great ambassadors, he was to go on to become an important figure in Manchester United's ascent to world domination in the 1990's.

Alex Bruce was the club's one solid gain from this episode. He had never wanted to leave North End in the first place. A dependable fixed point throughout the crises of the years ahead, his various transfers brought nearly £200,000 into the coffers, and he scored 171 goals in 404 games, making him the club's third leading overall scorer after Tom Finney and Tommy Roberts. Significantly, his two departures from Deepdale were followed by the club's subsequent relegation in 1974 and 1984, suggesting a wider influence not dissimilar to that of Joe McCall and Finney, whose retirements were followed by relegation seasons. An uncomplicated but fast and skilful player, he had a clear idea of what his game was about: **I'm always daydreaming about scoring great goals, and the night before a match I nearly always dream about scoring a hat-trick with three fabulous long range shots. I picture myself in my mind scoring goals. I can recall every goal I have ever scored, and this kind of attitude keeps you hungry for goals. This is my job... hitting the back of the net.**(27) In the years 1974-8, his partnership with Mike Elwiss extended through 130 out of a possible 135 league games producing 110 goals, and he subsequently went on to develop the careers of Mike Robinson and Steve Elliot. Robinson's sale was to be a major factor in the club's survival, but the general feeling among the North Enders was that in Bruce the club still had the goose that laid the golden eggs.

MARKING TIME WITH HARRY CATTERICK
(1975-77)

Amid the turmoil and attention of the national press and media, Alan Kelly held the team together, and it was hoped that the training partnership he had forged with Nobby Stiles would take over the management. Stiles sided with Charlton, and only agreed to return after the appointment of veteran Harry Catterick as manager, who had been a front runner for the post in 1956. His time at Deepdale was to be a very difficult one. In his first interview he showed a keen awareness of the financial constraints ahead: '...I repeat, that buying and selling is the reality of football economics and it is essential to sell from time to time'.(28) It was soon apparent that the team would have to be strengthened, but the money was not forthcoming. At the annual meeting Alan Jones refused to speculate, stating

build a better h e

Preston North End FC, 1976-77.
Back Row: Tickle, Thomson, Baxter, Cameron, Lamb. Middle Row: Brown, Doyle, Williams, Tunks, Smith A., Lawrenson, Robinson, Elwiss. Front Row: Harry Hubbick, Bruce, Burns, McMahon, Harry Catterick, Sadler, Coleman, Smith J., Nobby Stiles.
A very talented side to be playing in the Third Division. (National Football Museum)

that the club was losing £80,000 a year on the present gates of 9,000: **To go into the transfer market at the present time would be suicidal and irresponsible. It is a question of survival or bankruptcy and I hope you will support the board.**(29) The team slipped to mid-table after a fair start, and suffered the first of a number of FA Cup ignominies, losing to non-league Scarborough. The New Year saw the sale of outstanding prospect Tony Morley to Burnley (£100,000), who themselves had just been forced to part with Leighton James. Worse was to follow for the club was said to be losing £2,000 a week and to have a £120,000 overdraft. Willow Farm was sold by Compulsory Purchase order, and plans were afoot to part with the club's hostel for young players. The assets carefully built up in the 1950's were running down fast.(30)

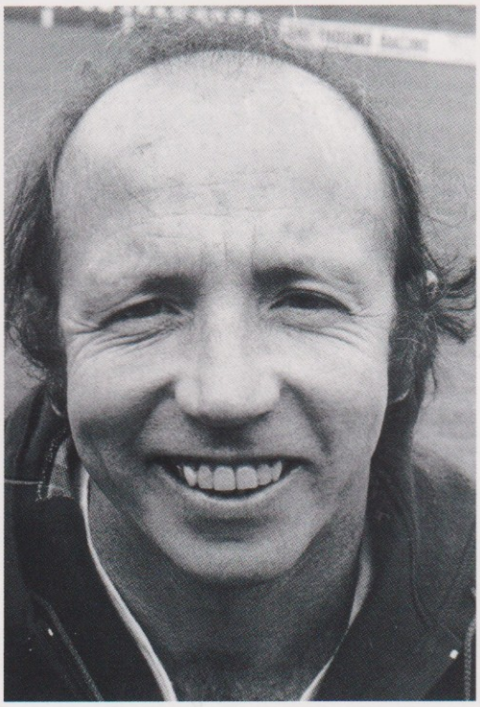
After the 'Forward Policy' pursued to meagre effect under Charlton, 'consolidation' was now the watchword, and the board was firmly entrenching. In August 1976 it issued an unprecedented public statement outlining its position. Since it had taken over in 1973, some £558,000 had been raised by player and property sales, with £270,000 spent on new players. This had been consumed running the club and reducing the debt from £132,000 to £25,000. If attendances averaged 12,500 in the coming season the board 'will not be looking to sell players'.(31) By the club's December AGM the playing staff had been reduced to 20 with six apprentices, and gates were averaging barely 8,000. Jones once again reiterated that 'Survival is the name of the game', and that but for the sale of Bird and Morley the club would have lost £123,000 over the season.(32) Attention now turned to the ongoing troubles of the Supporters' Club which had made a loss of £3,000. In January 1977, the football club severed links with its own Supporters' Club, and launched a new club.(33) On the field, however, Bruce and Elwiss managed 43 league goals between them, and despite a run of four consecutive defeats in April, promotion was missed by just six points. The deep financial gloom which hung over the country thus found expression at Deepdale. In Prime Minister James Callaghan's words, Britain, which had just received a 3.9 billion dollar loan from the IMF to shore up the pound, had 'lived too long on borrowed time, borrowed money, and even borrowed ideas'.(34)

With funds not forthcoming from the Supporters' Club, Norman Shakeshaft urged the directors to double their personal guarantees to the bank. The board's response was predictable: **After lengthy discussion it was agreed that the transfer of a player should be negotiated with minimum clear requirements being as follows - Lawrenson (£100,000), Williams (£45,000), Bruce (£120,000), Elwiss (£100,000).**(35) The summer saw the transfer of Mark Lawrenson and Gary Williams to Brighton. For the supporters, coming on the top of the recent sales of Bird and Morley, this was one of the bitterest pills of all. Reserves of hope, the life blood of clubs in the lower divisions, were all but exhausted. Lawrenson was a local boy, the son of Tommy Lawrenson, and clearly a player with a great future. As a result of the two deals, the club was to receive £120,000 and Harry Wilson and Graham Cross.

Tom Croft and former Supporters' Club chairman Keith Leeming now joined the board, and before the start of the new season Harry Catterick had been 'shuffled sideways' in favour of the management team of Alan Kelly and Nobby Stiles.(36) The former Everton manager collapsed and died at a game at Goodison in May 1980. The contrast with the days of Taylor and Will Scott, when the emphasis had been on 'putting something in the window to draw the crowds' was never more complete than at the annual shareholders' meeting of December 1977. The board refused flatly to build 'on a plan of hope and speculation', and following the sale of such potentially key players of the future, pointed to a credit balance on the profit and loss account of £706, and reserves of £21,564: **The policy of financial stability, together with the development of young players is the only one which can be justified if the club is to survive.**(37)

PROMOTION: NOBBY STILES (1977-81)

The toothless Nobby Stiles skipping around Wembley with the Jules Rimes trophy on that summer's afternoon in 1966 was perhaps a strange candidate for inclusion as one of North End's most successful post-war managers. Yet, in the club's much-reduced circumstances, such was to be the case. In an early interview he gave the notice of intent, denigrating the club's past, in the manner now expected from new Preston managers: 'Reputations mean nothing. The days of the past and all that Proud Preston stuff are gone'.**(38)** With very depleted resources, he and assistant manager Alan Kelly quickly fashioned a promotion winning side. Sean Haslegrave was signed from Notts Forest, for what the club clearly regarded as a large fee - just £22,000! Though the board would consider requests from Stiles on a case by case basis, the annual meeting was told that the club 'would not stand in the way of the right offer for Elwiss', and further concerns were raised as to the likely implications of greater freedom of contract for the players.**(39)** After a poor start, marked by a large number of no-score draws, the team attracted a 'dull and defensive tag', but proceeded to win virtually every other game thereafter. The side was hard to beat, and a 4-0 win over Colchester at Deepdale in February put the club into a promotion position. The crowd of 9,225 was large for the time, and Alex Bruce, who scored all the goals, won a case of scotch for his hat trick.



NOBBY STILES (MANCHESTER UNITED, PRESTON NORTH END & ENGLAND), 1978.

THE OLD MANCHESTER UNITED LINK WAS REVIVED WHEN BOBBY CHARLTON BROUGHT STILES, SADLER AND BURNS TO DEEPDALE. NOBBY WOULD EVENTUALLY TAKE OVER MANAGEMENT OF THE CLUB IN PARTNERSHIP WITH ALAN KELLY. THEIR TEAM REACHED SEVENTH PLACE IN THE OLD SECOND DIVISION IN 1978-79, THE CLUB'S BEST IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY AFTER 1964. THE FEELING PERSISTS THAT BUT FOR THE NEED TO SELL PLAYERS THEY WOULD HAVE GONE ON TO BUILD A STRONG SIDE. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

A jittery run-in set up an exciting last day of the season. The third promotion spot was between North End and Peterborough, who had a game in hand. On the final Saturday they were away to Chester, and lost 4-3. Preston were at home to Shrewsbury Town, and losing 2-1 at half time, following a defensive mix-up between Tunks and Burns. The crowd of 16,000 had to wait until the 82nd minute for the breakthrough, when Bruce headed home what was to prove to be the promotion-winning goal from a header on by Mick Baxter. The team was, Tunks, McMahon, Cameron, Burns, Baxter, Cross, Coleman, Haslegrave, Robinson, Elwiss, and Bruce; substitute Doyle. Peterborough's slip gave hope, they now had to win their final game at Wrexham. So it came about that one of the club's most important games was not played at Deepdale and did not even feature the Preston team! A large throng of North Enders made their way to the game, cheering-on Wrexham and particularly their goalkeeper Dai Davis. Amid tremendous tension, the hope was that Stiles's 'old mate' Arfon Griffiths would 'do them a favour'. With no score at half-time, Stiles was said to be a nervous wreck in the lounge, his tea cup rattling in its saucer 'like a dying man's gargle'. Jimmie Scott described the match as 'the most nerve-racking 90 minutes of my life'. A spectacular double save by Davis brought tremendous cheering from the North Enders behind his goal, as the Wrexham defence held out, and North End went back to the Second Division on goal average.**(40)**

From 1978-81 North End enjoyed three seasons in Division Two. Player of the Year Mike Elwiss was anxious to develop his career, and was sold to Crystal Palace in the close season for £200,000 - the club's record fee.**(41)** His place was taken by young Mick Robinson, who was to score 13 goals in 36 league games in 1978-79. Money was made available for team strengthening and new recruits included Don O'Riordan (£30,000), Graham Bell (£80,000), and Eric Potts (£40,000). Record purchase Steve Elliot (£95,000) was signed in March from Notts Forest as the eventual replacement for Mike Robinson, who had emerged as the great success story of a season, which saw North End reach their highest league position since 1964.

The story of Robinson's transfer is remarkable.**(42)** The former Blackpool schoolboy was nearly rejected by Catterick, but he progressed greatly under Alan Kelly who spent many hours in special training with defender Mick Baxter. He wanted to play in the First Division with North End, and had recently signed a new three-year contract. In mid-March North End rejected a £300,000 bid from QPR, and Manchester City later put an offer for £350,000 in writing. Bill Shankly obligingly supported Finney's high hopes of the 20-year-old, the club did not want to sell, and Jones did not call a board meeting. During a resulting telephone conversation Peter Swales, the City chairman, asked Jones if he would call a meeting for £450,000. Jones said that he would not, only to be staggered by the question, would he call a meeting for a £550,000 offer? The meeting was now held, but after consultation with Stiles it was decided not to sell Robinson. When the decision was phoned to Manchester, Swales made a further offer of £650,000. A second meeting was amazed to hear of the new offer. Robinson was fully aware of the drift of events, and tempted by a large increase in salary, naturally wanted to go. Jones now phoned through the news that Preston would reluctantly accept the offer - provided that City paid the VAT on the deal.

At the end of June the story broke in the national press. Manchester City had paid £756,000 for the player, of which North End would receive £650,000 clear, with £90,000 VAT. The tax bill thus almost equalled the highest fee the club had ever paid for a player! The feeling was that City were desperate to strengthen their side and had been 'held to ransom'. In North End's tight financial position, this was a tremendous influx of capital, and by the end of the year the accounts were £450,000 in the black. The North End chairman, who had been a board member at the time of the Connor and Young deal, took great delight in this piece of business. At the time this was the second largest British transfer deal - for a player who had scored 15 goals in just 45 league games.**(43)**

The side continued to perform creditably in the 1979-80 season, and though 11 of the first 19 games were drawn, Elliott was a goal-scoring success, and the side finished in tenth place. Though many felt that Stiles was on the verge of developing a side able to challenge for promotion unforeseen financial troubles were building, and at the end of the season the necessary team strengthening was not undertaken. Nevertheless, the side almost survived another last-game-of-the-season thriller. North End won 2-1 at Derby with two goals from Bruce, but West Ham could not beat fellow relegation candidates Cardiff City, who stayed up on a tiny goal difference. This was the club's third relegation in 12 years, and Norman Shakeshaft felt they had been unlucky, since 36 points would normally have secured safety. Yet he was critical of the fact that Bruce had been 'stupidly left out of sides'. With each relegation to the Third Division, the period of recovery, right up to the present day, has increased, and there was a chilling harbinger for the future at the team's last Second Division home game on 2 May 1981. The attendance of 18,970, swollen by Swansea's promotion party, was to be the last 10,000-plus gate until February 1987, when 12,500 attended the visit of Wolves. Nought availeth, and North End were bound for the abyss.(44)

THE SAFETY OF SPORTS GROUNDS ACT 1975

Despite frequent requests for improved accommodation and particularly for a modern grandstand along the west side of the ground, Deepdale had changed very little since the war. The back of the Kop had been covered in asbestos in 1953 and a new frontage to the West stand was erected. The Pavilion clock was replaced by a distinctive plaque in 1959. The question of floodlighting was very cautiously approached by a board that never really believed that evening football would catch on. In January 1953, when Ecko Ensign estimated that a scheme would cost £10,000, a sub-committee was formed to find a cheaper system. The board opted for equipment provided by General Electric, with Tom Finney Ltd undertaking the electrical wiring. By September this work was going well, but the pylons were causing concern. The transformer was the most expensive item at £1,250, and the board worried that if floodlit football went out of fashion, they would not get their money back. The first floodlit game of the modern era was a Lancashire Cup match against Bolton played on 21 October 1953. The scheme was a success, and the lights were supplemented in 1955.(45)

Despite the enormous gates, crowd safety does not seem to have caused many problems until the late 1950's. In November 1957, Allan Harrison met the Chief Constable to discuss the deployment of mounted police at Deepdale, but fans were allowed to change ends at half-time until April 1963. Crowd problems were rare, and such matters were taken amazingly casually. After a game against Middlesbrough in September 1962 the officials complained that they had been pelted by the crowd, and the board's response was to note, 'The officials conduct of the game left much to be desired'.(46) A small fire in the wooden West stand in 1959 caused £24 of damage. More serious was the collapse of the 45ft long wall screening the main staircase on the Spion Kop during a Cup match in March 1966. A surge in the crowd above the wall led to its collapse and spectators cascaded down the stair well. Five people were seriously injured.(47) Throughout the seventies crowd discipline deteriorated throughout the country. Deepdale shared in this national malaise to a limited extent, but in one incident away from the ground a visiting supporter died.

Evvapres
STEIN
NIGHT SPOT
WADE FOR INSURANCE

Deepdale, mid 1970's.
Mick Baxter clears his lines. (Janet Baxter)

The most important stadium development at Deepdale in the seventies and eighties, came with the opening of the Pavilion's Guild Club. The logic behind it was the same that Alderman Ord had deployed for the construction of the West stand 65 years before. It would cater for those willing to pay a little more to watch North End. Masterminded by Alan Jones, the Guild Club superseded the old Sportsmen's Club, providing members with a reserved seat, and access to a private licensed bar to be created to the rear of designated-seating in the Pavilion. The scheme was a spectacular success, and the initial cost of £6,000, was recovered in the first year, through an annual subscription of £70. The facilities were improved to meet the demand of a waiting list, and a quite distinct 'club atmosphere' developed. In 1980 eight 'Executive Boxes' were constructed in the open area below the Pavilion: **The Eighties... the decade of opportunity and improvement, be among the first, be among the best, be among the elite - An executive box at Deepdale gives you the premier facility available in the area.** The following year a further eight boxes were added. The boxes, with their central heating, colour television and cocktail cabinet (deemed luxuries at the time), could be rented for three years at £5,500, or £2,200 per year. Fees rose with inflation, the developments were tremendously profitable, and they fostered the club's links with future sponsors.(48)

The rebuilding of the nation's football stadia was an important consequence of the Wheatley Report which followed the Ibrox Park disaster of 1971. The resulting Safety of Sports Grounds Act of 1975 introduced a system of licensing, under which a sub-standard ground could be closed. While in the Third Division Deepdale was excluded, but on winning promotion in 1978, the various clauses had to be implemented.(49) Larger grounds generally required greater safety work, so clubs opted to cut their maximum capacities. Simon Inglis says that North End's figure was cut once the club ran out of replacement steel work! The capacity was cut to 25,000, then to 19,500 after the Bradford fire in 1985.(50) The changes came at a bad time for the club, for Stiles was beginning to put together a useful team. In 1977-9 just under £10,000 was spent, but expenditure accelerated rapidly thereafter, reaching £317,514 in 1979-80, and £171,256 during the following year. This mopped up the proceeds from the transfer of Mike Robinson, the profit of £300,000 in 1979-80 being replaced by a loss of £340,000 the next year. The effect on the Profit and Loss Account was similarly traumatic, swinging it from a credit balance of £238,669 to a debit of £105,339 in the same year. Generous grants were available, but spending continued at a

OSE THE HOME BUILDERS
AMB
adidas
adidas

PRESTON NORTH END FC, PROMOTED 1977-78.

BACK ROW (L-R): WILSON, BROWN, ELWISS, UZELAC, BAXTER, MCMAHON, ROBINSON. MIDDLE ROW: MORRIS, THOMSON, CAMERON, DOYLE, COLEMAN, BRUCE, SMITH J., WILLIS. FRONT ROW: BURNS, SMITH A., ALAN KELLY, NOBBY STILES, HARRY HUBBICK, TUNKS, COCHRANE.

THOUGH WINNING PROMOTION IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THANKS TO THE WREXHAM GOALKEEPER, THE COMBINATION OF ALEX BRUCE AND MIKE ELWISS SCORED ALMOST 50 GOALS. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM) high level throughout the 1980's, totalling more than £500,000. This was money wasted, in the sense that it was only extending the life of redundant structures, which ultimately would have to be replaced.**(51)**

THE DEEPDALE PLAN 1980: A BLUEPRINT FOR SURVIVAL

The realisation that the club must look to new ways to generate income was accepted as early as 1963, when the Supporters' Club began to make a significant contribution. Rising to a peak of over £11,000 in 1967, these contributions fell thereafter and the Preston North End Development Fund was established in August 1968. In the first year the 'Draw' and related enterprises raised more than £33,000, and generated over £100,000 in the years up to 1973. This was crucial income, at a time when the wage bill far exceeded the 'gate money', reaching a level of 120% in even the successful 1970-71 season.**(52)** Admission prices rose steadily. In 1972 they were raised to Pavilion £1, West stand 75p, Paddock 60p, and Ground 50p, and by June 1979 had more than doubled (to £2.20, £1.90, £1.35, £1.35). Depending upon your point of view, the players were asking exorbitant wages, or the North Enders were seriously under funding their club. In 1980, Alan Jones paid credit to the staff who 'without exception have never been greedy or unreasonable when negotiating terms'.**(53)** The decision to allow advertising within the ground came in May 1972, and it was hoped that the 39 sites identified for hoardings would raise £14,500 a season. With the later introduction of fencing, this intrusion of Mammon into Deepdale led to a very significant deterioration in the aesthetics of the old place.

As the problems faced by small clubs grew ever more obvious the Football League Pool became an increasingly important factor in the accounts. Contributions rose from £800 in 1960 to around £5,000 in the mid-1960's and increased considerably in the 1970's, doubling to over £20,000 in 1974 and reaching £46,636 in 1979. The relaunch of a lottery in 1977 boosted the development fund to more than £45,000 in 1978, and almost £350,000 was raised in the next three years. In the crisis years 1983-6 over £200,000 was raised - important money when gates had fallen to under 5,000. Attendances fell alarmingly. In the Charlton seasons they had averaged between 7-9,000, rising to 12,117 after promotion in 1978. From this point they fell each season until 1986, when they reached a level not seen for a 100 years - 3,402. The 12,000 average of 1978-79 was not to be reached again until 1998-99.

The board developed a stark survival policy: **We have learned that the key to survival lies in a combination of two things - the commercial development and a scouting system from which we can develop our raw material as far as playing strength is concerned ...One-off cash injections are not the answer. We have worked hard to establish a consistent procedure and system which enables us to balance the books on a regular income, based on a guaranteed, realistic cash flow rather than pie-in-the-sky dreams.(54)** The regime of 1973 now looked back with horror to the expansionary phase of Charlton's tenure, and further back to the Young and Connor deal, in much the same way that earlier boards had looked on the spending sprees of the mid-1920's and late 1940's: 'Survival and any success which may accrue, depends on their ability to run the club in a business-like manner'. The failure to own Deepdale was openly acknowledged to be an important weakness in the club's position.

Under the strong leadership of Jones and Hemmings, North End emerged as an influential pleader of the cause of the small-town clubs, and in December 1980 published a six-point survival plan. This envisaged the maintenance of the transfer system to allow clubs to retain their income from sales, the curtailment of football on television and greater pressure on players' wages, but falling short of a return to the maximum wage.**(55)** A second plan, put forward in October 1981, found ready acceptance from the Blackburn and Bolton boards, while Blackpool thought it 'eminently sensible'. It was firmly against regionalisation of the League, but proposed a controlled wages policy for players outside Division One, and the reduction of the size of playing squads, with more loan players and part-timers. There was to be less football on TV and bonus points should be given for goals scored.(56)

The grim reality of life at such clubs was outlined at the annual meeting of 1980. 'No wastage' was the cry, and it was announced that the club's youth hostel would be closed in February 1981. The team managers had little room to manoeuvre, and at Deepdale the playing staff was to be restricted to two goalkeepers, four full backs, four central defenders, six midfielders, five forwards, five first year professionals and five apprentices.(57) Finances were dictated by the 'break-even point', which was expressed as a weekly attendance figure. This had fallen steadily from around 15,000 in the 1960's, to 12,000, and 9,500, but in 1980-81 was to be set at just 6,500. With progressive cuts, whole areas of the club's activities disappeared, raising fears of a doomsday scenario in which performance levels would fall to such an extent that the club would be virtually unable to function and go into free fall down the League. This is what happened in the years 1984-6.

TOMMY DOCHERTY (JUNE TO DECEMBER 1981)

At first, it seemed likely that Stiles and Kelly would keep their jobs, and, with hindsight, it is interesting to speculate what the outcome might have been if they had done so. Stiles, later assistant to Johnny Giles at West Bromwich Albion, was philosophical: **Of course it hurts, but I have no ill feeling towards the club. I wish the new man all the best and I still think this could be a very good club.**(58) Though Gordon Lee was the front-runner, the post was eventually offered to Tommy Docherty amid much popular enthusiasm.(59) The club was reputed to have had to pay £30,000 to pay off Stiles and another £37,000 to buy up Docherty's contract from Sydney Olympic, but Alan Kelly's subsequent decision to stay saved a further £28,000. Docherty lasted 165 days before he and assistant Ken Shellito had to be paid off. This was clearly a catastrophic waste of the company's funds, when strong nerves and continuity would at least have stabilised the club. The result was to be a further, and far-reaching, weakening of North End both on and off the field.

Though Docherty was facing a distracting libel case in October, his appointment was genuinely popular: 'I walked into the dressing room - and there in front of me was the exact peg where I had first hung my shirt back in 1949'. Once again the board had appointed a celebrity manager, but a man with a reputation as a 'wheeler-dealer', and of conflict with his directors. His task was to revive a club with gates of around 5,000, a tight money policy and the need to raise £100,000 a year through sales. The Doc talked the club up, and the press loved it. North End was a 'sleeping giant'; he was 'thinking of putting £1,000 on them winning promotion'.(60)

The Doc's dismissal just five months later was largely brought on by himself. Peter Johnson writing in the Daily Mail marshalled a defence of sorts by outlining the constraints within which he had worked. His biggest mistake had been to sell Mick Baxter - the team's influential centre half and 'Player of the Year' - to Middlesbrough for £425,000 (£350,000 net). Baxter was a popular player who obviously wanted to better himself, and the club needed the funds, but his loss represented a major weakening of the side.(61) Norman Shakeshaft also identified Baxter's departure as the key event in the disastrous form which followed. The club also lost promising forward Ricky Thomson through injury, but received almost £70,000 in compensation. Docherty signed eight players, including former Manchester City star Tommy Booth (£30,000), but claimed not to have been allowed to sign the players he needed. He thought that the team was simply not good enough and transfer listed 11 players: 'Things were allowed to get so bad here that I can't even give the players away'.(62) Though his remarks upset members of the team, Docherty broke new ground at Deepdale by informing the players when interest was shown in them by other clubs.

The system of three points for a win was to operate for the first time in 1981-82, and though the club picked up its first points on the first home outing, just two games were to be won before the middle of January. Docherty was distracted by his court case, which was the talk of the country in mid-October. He was accused of perjury in a previous High Court libel action which he had brought against Willie Morgan and Granada Television in 1978. He was cleared, but faced hefty legal bills, and proceeded to spend time promoting his autobiography. It was increasingly felt that he was spending too much time away from the club. In the days before his dismissal North End had been knocked out of the FA Cup (losing 4-1 to Doncaster Rovers) and had announced a £340,000 loss. The team was firmly fixed in the relegation zone, and Doc's League record stood at P17, W3, D6, L8, F14, A24, when the board met at 7-15pm on Thursday 3 December 1981. The 'Doc', who was due to speak at a social event, had no inkling that he was the main item on the agenda.

Fearing that their manager's rhetorical skills would bamboozle them, the seven directors present decided that only Alan Jones would speak: **The chairman read a prepared statement to Mr. T. H. Docherty and announced: 'It is my unfortunate duty to inform you that the Directors have had a meeting this afternoon and having due regard to recent results and continuing discontent within the Club have decided that the time has come for a parting of the ways before there is any further damage to the Club's, or your reputation'.(63)** Having asked the other members of the board if they had lost their powers of speech, and having received no reply from the mutes, an astonished Tommy Docherty refused the board's offer of compensation and left the meeting. His had been the shortest reign of a Preston manager. Once again the club was in the news for all the wrong reasons. Even the players had no idea what was in the offing, as Gordon Coleman told the Evening Post: 'Most of us heard it on the Nine o'clock News. We had absolutely no idea'. The ever-adaptable 'Doc' returned to Sydney, where his managerial career ended in August 1983, after he was pelted with rubbish by angry supporters. One of the great characters of British football, he later began a new career as a successful radio presenter and after-dinner speaker.

10
9
5
2
5
SUPPORTERS
ESSO

DEEPDALE, 1973.

MEL HOLDEN, FRANCIS BURNS AND JOHN BIRD LOOK ON AS ALEX BRUCE SCORES. THE VERY DISTINCTIVE CREST WHICH REPLACED THE CLOCK ON THE PAVILION CAN BE SEEN IN THE TOP LEFT CORNER. (NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM)

GORDON LEE
(1981-1983)

Gordon Lee now took over a club beset by turmoil with little hope of staying in the Third Division. Despite the sale of Baxter the operating loss for the current season was running at £92,000, even though the break-even point had been pushed down to a gate of just 5,800. Lee felt that he needed a magic wand: **We need to produce championship form in all our fixtures just to stay up ...Preston and Wimbledon are favourites to go down.(64)** Yet North End now had a stroke of luck from an unusual source. The winters in the last quarter of the twentieth century were extremely mild, but that of 1981 was an exception, and there was a long break through December, so that League football did not restart until January. This gave Lee some time, and a run of three wins raised hopes. Form improved and a further good run in May pulled the club eight points clear to mid-table respectability. 'Doc's' last home game had attracted just over 4,000 customers. Attendances did not recover their former levels and the average fell below 5,500.

With the continuous departure of promising players and a weakening standard of play, gates could only fall further, resulting in a further cutting of the break-even figure, and a Catch-22 situation. Hopes that the club's fall had been checked and that a revival would be underway in the 1982-83 season were dashed before the season had even started. In June, the club again reflected the prevailing Government ethos by announcing yet further 'Deep Spending Cuts'. The plan was to save £75,000 on 'running costs', and 'Price Fighter Director' Barney Campbell was appointed Managing Director. The services of Ron Severs (secretary), Jimmie Scott (chief scout) and Alan Spavin (youth officer) were dispensed with. Spavin was said to be very upset, and with his departure the 'youth policy' had effectively been given up. Most graphic of all, was the appeal for volunteers to come along to Deepdale to help to paint the ground. Around 200 people turned up, among them 73-year-old Fred Dickerson: **I saw they needed help in the Post so I decided to come along and give a hand. They have given me a lot of enjoyment over the years and this is my way of paying them back.(65)**

A number of the players lent a hand and the painting exercise greatly strengthened the commitment of the club's remaining regular supporters. But after the Docherty fiasco, the club was virtually 'running on empty', and without a large injection of new money the 1893 company must fail. In September 1982, plans were announced to facilitate this through an increase of the share capital. The share base was to be increased from 20,000 to 300,000 £1 shares. Six local businessmen and six of the existing directors would each buy 12,500 shares to raise £150,000, and it was hoped that the public would take a further 80,000. The original plan had been for five directors to buy 50,000 shares each, but when this number could not be found the target was reduced to ten buying 25,000 and so then to 20 men buying just 12,500 each! Notwithstanding the frequent demands in the years ahead that someone should be found to put some money in, philanthropists were clearly in short supply in the Preston of the early 1980's. Chairman Alan Jones was to step down, his place being taken by 'Wealthy Lancashire Businessman' Keith Leeming.**(66)** In a valedictory interview with John Morrell, Jones admitted that the high hopes at the time of Charlton's appointment had not been realised, despite strong backing from the board. With hindsight mistakes had been made, but the decisions had been made 'in the best interests of the club'. North End had frequently made the news in Jones's period of office, but the board's early ambitions had been undercut by falling attendances, wage inflation, and the need to comply with the Sports Grounds Act.**(67)**

At a meeting at the Trafalgar Hotel, Samlesbury, the shareholders approved an increase in the company's stock, and for the expansion of the board from nine to twenty members. Amid much speculation as to the personal means of the potential investors, 18 men had pledged to buy 12,500 shares, representing an initial block of 225,000 shares. Four of the existing directors resigned, leaving five members of the old regime and 13 new men, to form the largest board in British football!**(68)** The club faced extinction and this was regarded as the most important meeting in its history, which - apart from that of 1893 - it probably was. Estimates of weekly losses ranged from £1,500 to £2,500; income had fallen by £150,000 because of falling gates; and an amazing £91,000 had been lost in compensation payments to players and management. Income from the lottery had fallen markedly and the net loss over the previous season was said to exceed £100,000.

Deepdale, 1978.
Mick Baxter (left) and Steven Doyle look on amazed as Alex Bruce heads goalwards at the Town End. The old half-time score board can be seen along the half way line, and advertising hoardings have made their appearance. (National Football Museum)

The report of the auditors was stark: **Liabilities exceed assets. The company will find itself unable to continue trading unless substantial capital is introduced into the company in the next few months.**[(69)] The input certainly saved the 1893 company from failure in its ninetieth year. On 30 August 1893, Tom Houghton had bought shares numbered 1-10, but 237,500 shares were now issued (numbers 20,001 to 257,500) on a single certificate, and controlled exclusively by the new directors. The maximum number of issued shares in PNEFC Ltd (289,054) was reached just before the Baxi take-over on 10 May 1993.[(70)]

The new board held their first meeting on 6 December 1982, with 13 directors present, six others sent 'apologies for absence'! A quarter of a million PNE shares were allocated to a company trading as 'Flashpewter Ltd', which was later renamed PNE (Holdings). Registered at Lowthorpe Road, this became the holding company of the PNEFC Ltd, so that whoever controlled it controlled the football club. Messrs Leeming, Hemmings, Campbell, Croft and Griffiths stayed on from the old board, and were joined by 14 new members. The new chairman was Keith Leeming, whose family's agricultural business was started by his grandfather in 1898. The one-time Preston Grasshopper transferred his interest to North End under the good influence of his wife. Trevor Hemmings resigned as vice-chairman, 'due to his work in the south', and the post was in future to be shared by John Garratt and Malcolm Woodhouse. Their job was to oversee six working committees: Finance, General Purposes, Outside Promotions, Youth, the Guild Club, and Lotteries. Not surprisingly one of the first decisions the board made was to exchange home addresses and telephone numbers. The manager was to report directly to the monthly meetings of the football club board, whilst the PNE (Holdings) company had separate meetings of its own.

It was hoped that £40,000 would be made available to Lee for new players, and in March 1983 Ernie Hinnigan made his debut. The club had now been geared to break-even financially with crowds of just 4,000. This meant a small playing squad which was soon depleted by injuries, and the team's form continued to be a great disappointment. By the beginning of March the outlook was very bleak, and the analysis was P30, W5, D9, L16. Ominously there had been two runs of four consecutive defeats. To the disgust of many supporters a scheme was launched to pay the players a bonus if they escaped relegation. It was effective. Form brightened and the team lost only two further matches all season. The signings of Lodge and Hinnigan, and the return from injury of Booth and Hodge was critical. A crowd of more 7,000 saw the team defeat Reading 2-0 in the last home game to save themselves from relegation: 'The scene at the end was one of celebration with the players being congratulated as if they had won promotion'. Back in the dressing room the players were silent, for as Alan Gowling said, 'Fourteen games ago we were dead and buried ...we've achieved a miracle'. Burnley and Bolton were relegated from the Second Division. Blackpool had to seek re-election.**(71)**

Once again hopes that this revival could be built on were dashed in the close season. Under a new League agreement, a player was to be given the chance to find a new club if he was offered inferior terms on a new contract. In May, 18 players were put on the transfer list, leaving just six professionals and three apprentices.**(72)** Season-tickets went on sale for the 1983-4 season when there wasn't a team to watch, but wage costs were brought down and expenditure fell. The consequences, of course, were disastrous. Alex Bruce left for Wigan, and the much-respected captain, Don O'Riordan, joined Graham Bell at Carlisle United. A loan signing, Geoff Twentyman from Chorley, was made for £5,000 - to be paid in four stages, and the Lancashire Evening Post's offer of £20,000 to the players if they won the Championship seemed unlikely to be claimed.**(73)** Gordon Lee survived a run of eight consecutive defeats in October and early November, but on 21 December Vice-chairman John Garratt announced his 'shock' dismissal: **At this time I think the chairman, Mr. Lee, Mr. Nulty and myself would prefer to keep the reason for the dismissal between ourselves. Alan Kelly is taking care of things and we are content with that.(74)** Part of the reason may have been Lee's scathing criticism of the team's attitude and individual ability. The club was fourth from bottom of the Third Division and so faced the threat of relegation for the fifth season in succession.

DON O'RIORDAN, 1983.

DON O'RIORDAN WAS A POPULAR CLUB CAPTAIN, AND IT WAS A SURPRISE TO SOME WHEN HE WAS SOLD TO CARLISLE AT THE END OF THE 82/83 SEASON AS THE BOARD SOUGHT TO REDUCE THE WAGE BILL. (PRESTON NORTH END)

'The Doc' failed to find the magic formulae, but it was all smiles on this team shot, 1981.

The smiles soon turned to tears, and 'The Doc' was sacked in December 1981, after only six months in charge. His record was very poor, with North End winning only three league games during his tenure. (Preston North End)

chapter 12

battling through the 1980's

The early 1980's saw a return to levels of unemployment not seen in Preston since the 1930's. In 1979-80 whole swathes of manufacturing industry disappeared, literally in months. The last large survival of the cotton age, Carrington-Viyella'a ultra-modern textile mill at Bamber Bridge, closed with the loss of 800 jobs.

John McGrath, 1986.

McGrath skilfully fashioned both a successful side in the short term, and the youth resources to sustain it. Yet once again the need to sell players eventually undermined the club's progress. His side's sixth position in the old Third Division in 1989, would not be improved upon for a decade. McGrath was one of the club's best-loved managers of recent times, and his famous dictum about Preston's chimneys forms the introduction to this essay. (National Football Museum)

The new industries which had masked the collapse of textiles in the years after the First World War were now themselves badly hit. British Aerospace announced plans to close the Strand Road works, and 25,000 redundancies were announced at British Leyland - 4,000 of them at the old Leyland Motors plants. Courtaulds announced the closure of the enormous Red Scar rayon plant, itself the totem of the pre-war recovery, with the loss of 2,600 jobs. In addition to these direct job cuts, many more resulted from losses by the firms' suppliers. The decision to close Preston Dock, made in November 1979, was the greatest psychological blow of all.

The Albert Edward Dock was planned in the 1880's to revive the town's trade and industrial base. Constructed at enormous expense and the largest fresh water dock in the world, the 'Port of Preston' came to symbolise (along with North End) the Progressive Preston of the new century. By 1938, the docklands railway was shifting 500,000 tons of goods a year, with a further 300,000 tons being moved by road. During the post-war years the dock prospered, with the celebrated Geest 'Banana Boats' beginning their runs from the West Indies in 1954, but structural changes in the shipping industry progressively undermined its operations in the 1960's and 1970's. The lesson could no longer be avoided by North Enders. If the town's great employers could fail on such a scale and civic pride could countenance the closure of the port, what then could save Preston's insolvent and struggling football team?

THE COMPANY IS SOLVENT...

The publication of the company accounts just before Gordon Lee's dismissal in December 1983, revealed that the previous year's cash injection had served only to offset previous losses. The Lancashire Evening Post's conclusion was stark: 'PNE Is Bust'. Despite the big spending cuts, the club was still losing money.**(1)** On 10 December the club's auditor had drawn the directors' attention to their individual positions 'in the event of liquidation procedures'.**(2)** At the end of the month, the annual meeting learnt that the balance sheet had been improved by the Football League's cancellation of the repayment of a £75,000 ground improvement loan, the disposal of a loss-making subsidiary and the revaluation of the club's property at Deepdale. Former director Robin Finch put the matter clearly: 'While the club has no tremendous assets it is largely being financed by directors, who have put in a lot of money, and a lot of their time!'**(3)**

The respite was brief. Trevor Hemmings, the club's largest shareholder, whose guarantee had underpinned the club in the Jones era (1973-83), left the board in January. He cited his extensive and expanding business commitments, but hoped to be able to rejoin the board at a later date.**(4)** New EEC regulations meant that if the club's insolvency deteriorated further it would have to declare bankruptcy.**(5)** At the end of January, **It was agreed that the Board should consider whether or not the Club is solvent or insolvent. In view of the new valuation of the buildings and guarantees lodged at Williams & Glynn's Bank by the directors as against an accumulating debt of £200,000, it is the opinion of the Board that the Company is not insolvent.(6)** It was decided to begin a publicity campaign to alert the public and to win support. On 2 February 1984, came Keith Leeming's shock announcement: 'The end is in sight and North End could be finished in a few months'. The club was 'behind' on its VAT and Inland Revenue payments, and the bank would not honour cheques beyond the overdraft. Unless £250,000 was raised quickly, the club would shut down in May. Norman Shakeshaft ran through the familiar list of those responsible: the fans who stayed away, the directors and the manager. Docherty's spending was blamed on the immediate crisis, but to have been effective, the 1982 rescue plan, it was believed, needed to have raised at least £500,000. Once again the players escaped disgrace.**(7)**

North Enders now applied their undisputed creative talents to devise a vast array of fund-raising schemes. Amid the welter of accusations and recrimination, a unified sense of purpose developed, and it was to be from this, the club's most serious crisis, that the path forward was found. For some time Barney Campbell had been holding secret talks with Preston Borough Council representatives. The news broke on 3 February that it had been agreed in principle that the council would acquire the club's premises at Deepdale, which would be opened as a general recreation ground. Secret talks had been held to discuss the provision of an all-weather playing surface at Deepdale; and there can be little doubt that from a financial point of view the Council deal - injecting an initial £220,000 - was a major factor in the saving of the football club. The board also tried to get to grips with the problems of the Supporters' Club (which the club took over in May) and secured a three-year sponsorship deal worth £75,000.**(8)**

Throughout the 1980's, the team's efforts on the pitch took second place to the board's manoeuvres with the bank and other creditors. The various lottery schemes and increasingly-lucrative sponsorship cheques helped, but like most clubs North End depended on assistance from the Football Grounds Improvement Trust to offset the enormous cost of updating England's decaying football stadia. The progressive involvement of the Borough Council lifted some of the financial pressure, but the overdraft continued to be the subject of regular telephone calls from the bank, and Leeming often received three calls a week. As early as June 1984, the board was asked for ten guarantors of £10,000 each, and July saw a demand for £27,000 from the Inland Revenue. Six months later, on 25 January 1985, the bank served notice that the guarantees would be called in if the overdraft was not reduced. This led to a discussion of the club's options. They were stark;

(1) Liquidation.

(2) Sale of the club.

(3) Acquisition of guarantees, together with the implementation of plans for a reduction of expenditure, and an increase of income.

Two things were decided. First, any member of the holding company who would not extend an agreed amount to the club was to be requested to sell his block of 12,500 shares to the others for a nominal fee. Secondly, a policy of further spending cuts was to be implemented. Coming amid a run of two wins in 22 games, the latter had the fairly obvious consequence of hastening relegation to the Fourth Division three months later.**(9)**

ON THE BRINK (1983-5): ALAN KELLY, TOMMY BOOTH, BRIAN KIDD

Under Alan Kelly the club's situation on the field initially improved. His first two games in charge were won 4-0 and 5-1. Another miracle had been worked; and but for three defeats in the last four games of the season, North End would have reached a respectable mid-table position in 1983-84. Over 26 years, Alan Kelly had been one of the club's most loyal servants, and he was imbued with the Deepdale ethos from another, happier, era: 'Whatever happens, the side will play attacking football while I am in charge ...I like to use wingers and I don't think we will be playing 4-4-2'. It was his personal tragedy that his chance in solo management came when North End's prospects were so heavily stacked against success of any kind.**(10)**

The logic behind Bruce's departure had been that Steve Elliott played a similar game, but though the latter had contributed 16 league goals, he was unsettled in a struggling side, and left for Luton Town in the close season: 'Preston tried everything to keep me, but I had got to take this opportunity'. The £65,000 fee was important money to the struggling club, but raised the question as to who would get the goals in the year ahead.**(11)** Former international David Johnston was signed in October, but was almost immediately injured, and Tommy Booth was forced to retire. Kelly's second season (1984-5) began with four wins out of five, to be followed by eight straight defeats. Between 18 September and 26 February, North End won only two matches, and on 8 December came a 4-1 home defeat at the hands of Telford United in the second round of the FA Cup - the club's greatest setback in the competition since the 3-0 defeat of the 'Invincibles' by Stoke in 1891. Tom Croft resigned from the board in protest, but he spoke for many: 'It saddens me to see the club in this plight'. Kelly was also bitterly disappointed at the position he now found himself in, commenting, 'I would like to have John Anderson, Steven Doyle and Don O'Riordan around me now'. Gates had fallen to less than 3,000, and under great strain Alan Kelly resigned in February 1985. Not without justification had Gordon Lee called the Preston managership the hardest job in football.[12]

The North End shop, 1986.

From humble origins in a narrow room in the West stand the club's commercial section has grown rapidly in recent years with the development of the 'Kit' brand, and more recently, North End's link with Bloggs. This photograph shows the range of items available in the old Supporters' Club premises. (National Football Museum)

With Tommy Booth acting manager, Willie Naughton was sold to Walsall (£40,000), but Bob Atkins and Gary Brazil were signed from Sheffield United (£25,000). A shattering 5-2 home defeat by Wigan Athletic virtually relegated North End to the Fourth Division, and led Booth to lambaste the team: **The performance against Wigan was a disgrace ...It was rubbish. The players can't kid us and they can't kid the supporters.[13]** Though gates had fallen by around 800 per match, a grim loyalty saw a thousand North Enders embark for the final game of the season at York. North End won 1-0 amid amazing scenes: **Preston's large flag waving followers chanted and cheered non-stop, to turn what should have been a wake into almost a celebration of the carnival kind.[14]** The average home gate was 3,794, and the team's remarkable record which took the club into the Fourth Division was:

P46 W13 D7 L26 F51 A100 P46

The tragic Bradford City fire and the Heysel Stadium disaster soon put the club's problems into context, but it is remarkable how the depths to which the reputation of the English game sank at this time was so closely mirrored by North End's playing collapse and near bankruptcy.

The close-season was dominated by concern about the form the Borough Council's involvement with the club would take, and the proposed 'Plastic Pitch' was the talk of the town. Though the team started the new season in the club's old hooped socks, and Alan Kelly junior signed professional forms in September, the team was not significantly strengthened. Early talk of instant promotion quickly evaporated, and the club was hit by a series of disasters off the pitch. Ground inspection revealed the need for repairs to all the stands apart from the Pavilion; and in October corrosion in the floodlight pylons was found to be much worse than suspected. Repairs would cost £50,000 and £40,000 respectively, and once again grants from the Football Trust saved the day.[15] The West stand was clearly well beyond its reasonable life span and it was feared that the front edge of the roof had begun to move towards the pitch. Alternatively, inspection after the Bradford fire indicated that previous safety work had been successful, and only minor changes were required.

Despite the signing of John Thomas from Lincoln City (£15,000), it quickly became apparent that the team's relative standard of play had not improved despite the fall into a lower division. The loss of the floodlights had a further serious affect on the morale of the club and its hard-pressed supporters, but in this dark hour offers of assistance came from Bloomfield Road: 'Blackpool phoned to say they would do anything possible to help'.**(16)** Matches reverted to a 2pm kick off, and on 5 November a game against Scunthorpe was played on a Tuesday afternoon in front of Deepdale's lowest-ever League gate, 2,007. The club was unable to put 11 fit men out, and an amateur player, Mel Tottoh, saved the day when he was called up from the British Aerospace works. To such a state had 'Once Proud Preston' fallen. United won 1-0.

After a 2-0 home win over Hereford on 28 September, resistance virtually collapsed, and the team took a series of fearful beatings without precedent since 1882. Northampton and Chester managed six goals, and in the FA Cup Walsall managed seven. The season was a fitting culmination to the series of disasters on the field which had begun in 1980-81, and had included two runs of eight consecutive defeats. Though the club's average gate of 3,502 was the second highest in the division, a number of games fell below 3,000. After surviving two moves to sack him, Tommy Booth stood down on 5 December, and his place was taken by his assistant Brian Kidd. The Lancashire Evening Post offered the latter its deepest sympathy, but expressed the view that Booth had been a desperate appointment and Kidd's was another.**(17)** Mid-way through December came news that Swansea City had been wound up, and the Daily Telegraph expressed widely-held fears of a 'domino effect' developing among struggling clubs.**(18)** The 1985 annual meeting thus took place at the lowest point of the football club's existence, but Keith Leeming committed the club to 'battle through the crisis'. Indeed a faint glimmer off the field, of the start of the long-term recovery could be seen. The 'plastic pitch' was to go ahead through a grant from the Football Grounds Improvement Trust; the club was able to report an £8,805 profit; and by mid-March the new floodlighting pylons had been erected.**(19)**

With the team's form remaining utterly moribund, potentially serious crowd unrest followed a 2-0 defeat at Chester on 15 March. A large demonstration of North Enders waving banners inscribed 'Sack The Board', 'Leeming Out' and 'You've killed PNE' aimed 'a torrent of abuse' at the directors' box and gathered outside the ground at the end of the match. After 34 games, North End were in 92nd position in the Football League. Leeming denounced 'certain elements' of the crowd, but his remarks caused further upset, and demonstrations became a regular feature of home games.**(20)** Remarkably in these circumstances, and unknown to supporters, six directors - the Executive Committee - now extended £10,000 cash loans and £35,000 guarantees to the bank to keep the club afloat. At the end of the month, Kidd resigned, citing his troubled relationship with the board: 'A club has to be a marriage of all parties - At Preston we were living together'. Keith Leeming claimed to have first heard of the resignation from the press placards outside the newsagents in Meadow Street!**(21)**

At this darkest hour came a further faint glimmer of hope. The revival of North End's fortunes on the pitch can be dated to a home match with Southend United on 23 March. Seen by a crowd of just 2,623, it was to be the first of five wins in a fortnight, and marked the emergence of the Gary Brazil - John Thomas goal-scoring partnership which was to carry all before it in the 1986-87 season. During this short 'run', attendances at home gates quickly built up to more than 5,000, leading the club's friends to reflect yet again on what might have been. At the time, however, the 15 points merely lifted the club from the bottom of the League, and the nadir of the club's entire existence was reached with the following record:

P46 W11 D10 L25 F54 A89 P43

Most appalling of all, North End had fallen short of the 'safety' of the fifth position from the bottom of the Fourth Division, by 12 points.

On 23 May 1986, the Preston North End Football Club had to apply for re-election to the Football League. Though the national press was awash with references to 'Once Proud Preston' and

LANCASHIRE
LL SP
PO
GARRATTS

Deepdale's Plastic Pitch: Mick Rathbone falls to Earth, 1988.

The increasingly decrepit state of the Deepdale stadium can be judged from the reinforced supports of the West stand roof. In the event the need to rebuild the stand would trigger the Baxi take-over of the club, and the end of the 1893 company. (Preston North End)

seemed obsessed by the tragedy of the club's reduced status, the board's actions at this time saved the club and achieved the most amazing turn-around ever in its fortunes. Leeming was well aware of their awful record in the choice of managers, and the board wanted to 'take time and get a good manager'.**(22)** On Kidd's departure Jonathan Clark had been put in temporary charge, becoming at 27 years of age the club's youngest 'manager'. As John McGrath waited in the wings, pieces of the old pitch were sold off to North Enders, many of whom it seemed were developing a new horticultural bent. In retirement, the turfs seemed to thrive; and today many of the Russian steppes could be returfed if all the pieces allegedly transplanted from Deepdale at this time, were to be re-assembled. In their place came that most unlikely precursor of the new North End - the Plastic Pitch.

THE CELEBRATED PLASTIC PITCH

From the days of William Sudell, the relationship between the football club and its landlord, Preston Borough Council, has always been important and complex. The increasing provision of 'leisure' facilities in the 1970's was marked by the development of all-weather pitches on the Lowthorpe Road training site. This brought the club, the council, and the pitch manufacturers, En Tout Cas, together for the first time in 1978. The following year Building Design Partnership produced plans for a new West stand, which was to seat 10,000 people and include a municipal Leisure Centre.**(23)** Nothing came of these schemes, but the attraction of Deepdale as a natural sports centre could not be doubted, and when the club entered detailed discussions with its landlord in 1983, the matter

Deepdale's Plastic Pitch. Mick Baxter coaching youngsters 1988.

Mick Baxter was at the forefront of the move to open Deepdale up for community use in the late 1980's. The artificial surface passed unlamented and had few friends among the purists or the players, but the project was to have an important influence on the long-term revival of the club. In ways largely unconnected with the beautiful game itself, it thus came to symbolise the long awaited revival of Preston North End. (Janet Baxter)

came up again. The club owned the Pavilion buildings on the east side of the ground, together with a parcel of the land. This being North End, of course, the buildings were not on the club's land. The property would have a greater value if the club also owned the ground it stood on, so eager to build up collateral at the bank, the board sought an exchange of land with the council. This was agreed to, and the asset was revalued up to £200,000 in the accounts.(24)

Secret discussions with the council continued, and the attraction of a joint partnership to run Deepdale gathered pace. In October, the ground's use for non-footballing activities was explored, and in November the question of synthetic turf was discussed. The club's deepening financial crisis provided the catalyst, and in the early part of 1984 a deal was worked out. The council would buy the club's property on the site, and the club would then lease back the ground. To facilitate community use, the grass pitch would be dug up and an artificial surface laid. The key point in the deal was that the club was to own the new pitch, which the council would pay to use. So the club would receive an immediate £220,000 lump sum, then annual payments of £60,000 a year for eight years.(25) In other words, the council would have the use of an enormous potential asset at little cost at a time when annual losses at Saul Street Baths and the Guild Hall were running at £200,000 and £600,000 respectively.(26) The pitch was thought likely to cost around £300,000, or £175,000 net after the receipt of various grants. This was to be paid for by a loan of £300,000 from Forward Trust using the pitch as collateral, and the sum was to be paid for over eight annual payments. The schemes would end in 1994.(27)

The club clearly still had friends, but the Preston Ratepayers' Association was not impressed. The club used its money to pay off sacked managers, and the majority in the 3,000 crowds were not Preston ratepayers anyway: **There are more worthy causes to assist in the town ...All this nonsense of the value of a professional football team means today nothing but extra police charges for prevention of violence.(28)** To make matters worse, one group of North Enders countered that the council had acquired the ground with its £400,000 of improvements 'on the cheap'. The plan was to provide an all-weather multi-sports centre for community use, and Brian Ellis writing in the Lancashire Evening Post welcomed the deal, noting that 'the famous Lilywhites will be the first professional team in Britain playing football on the rates'. The plan had something for everyone, not least the many supporters resident in the adjacent borough of South Ribble who would not have to contribute anything to the scheme.(29)

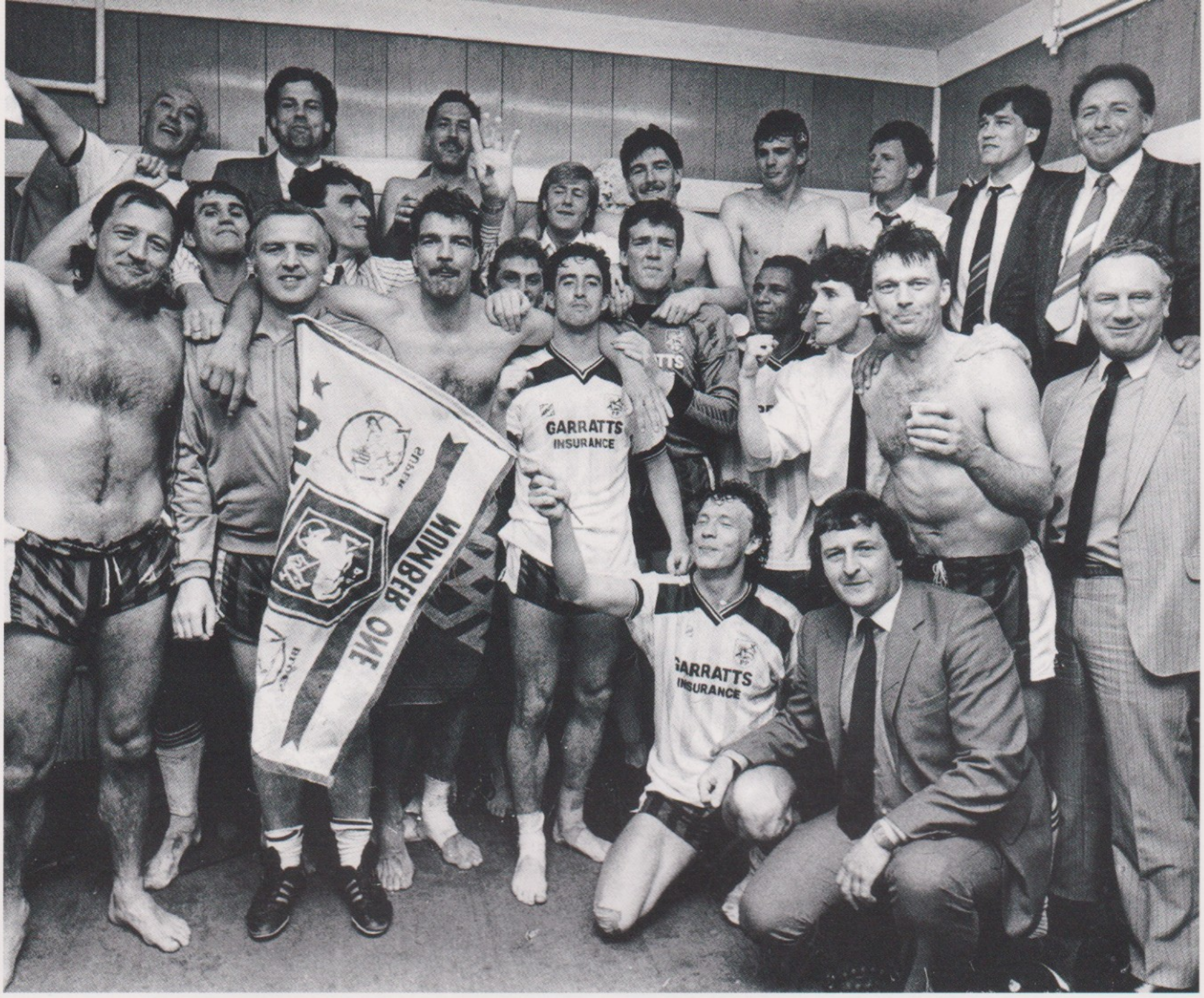
MICK BAXTER

Though the 'plastic pitch' was to prove highly controversial and ultimately something of a footballing dead end, there can be no doubt that the facility became a very popular public utility, far surpassing any of the hopes entertained for it at the outset. As well as taking some of the financial pressure from the board, it brought large numbers of people back to Deepdale. The season 1985-86 marked an all-time low in the club's fortunes, and installation of the pitch coincided with a revival of the club's playing form, so that 1986-87 saw the most remarkable turn around in North End's history. As John McGrath later remarked, the club could have 'gone bust' but for the pitch deal.**(30)** In the years up to 1994 the site became a tremendously successful venue, with the club receiving national recognition for its community development work. This had the affect of returning North End to the genuinely popularist outlook envisaged by William Sudell in the early 1880's and was to mark an important step towards the revival of the club a decade later.**(31)**

The first sight of the pitch for most North Enders came in a remarkable cricket match played between a West Indies eleven and a side captained by Ian Botham. Indeed, a case could be made out that the former, was the best team ever seen at Deepdale! Brian Hall described the interest generated in the pitch: **It's amazing. From nine in the morning to ten at night there are things going on most of the time. If you rang me asking to use the pitch on a Tuesday night, I would say - any Tuesday from the beginning of next March.(32)** It could be hired for £12 an hour, £15 with floodlights. The club developed close links with local schools and former player Mick Baxter was put in charge of the Manpower Services Commission's Community Scheme. Both Baxter and 'Football in the Community' were great successes, leading the Sunday Express to announce, 'Preston are the game's Angels of Virtue'. When Baxter took up the post, he found local schoolchildren wearing the colours of other teams, but 'Now the youngsters are beginning to follow Preston ...Against the odds, they have every right to feel proud again'. The club's policy was clear, as Baxter himself took pains to explain: **We want to involve people. We want to develop their affection for the club, and show them that it is not all violence and gloom.(33)** Mick Baxter died suddenly during a children's event at the ground in January 1989. His funeral at the United Reformed Church in Leyland was attended by representatives of all sections of the footballing world, whilst hundreds of friends and supporters waited outside to pay their last respects. He had shown a way forward from the dark days of the mid-1980's, not just for the North End club, but for English football itself.**(34)**

JOHN McGRATH
(1986-90)

After years of 'playing it safe' by appointing managers from among 'the devils you know' within the club, the board realised that this was a crucial appointment. John McGrath was offered the job after it had been turned down by John King, John Rudge and Asa Hartford.**(35)** John Thomas McGrath, a tough centre half on the pitch yet a very mild man off it, played 150 games each for Newcastle United (1961-8) and Southampton Town (1968-72) in a career total of almost 500 League matches. His managerial career began at Southampton, where he was trainer and youth team coach (1975-9) before moving on to manage Port Vale (1979-83) and Chester City (1984-5).**(36)** McGrath quickly fashioned virtually a new side around veteran Sam Allardyce, signing Les Chapman, Oshor Williams, Alex Jones, Mike Bennett, Ronnie Hildersley and Gary Swan. He planned to improve the defence, tighten discipline and achieve a higher league position. Of the old guard, Gary Brazil and John Thomas continued the scoring form which had marked the end of the previous season, and the side lost only two league games after November. Success was most marked in the FA Cup; North End hammered Bury 5-1 in the first round, demolished Chorley 5-0 in a replayed second round tie before 16,000 spectators at Deepdale, and beat Middlesbrough 1-0 away, before the run ended at Newcastle United in the fourth round. This was the club's best run since 1972 and was not to be surpassed until 2000.



Preston North End FC 1986-87: Promoted from the Fourth Division.
Front Row Standing (l-r): Frank Worthington, Bobby Saxton, Sam Allardyce, David Miller, Mick Bennett, Alan Kelly jun., Oshor Williams, Bob McNeil, Les Chapman. The flag waver is John Thomas. Bob Atkins is on the back row third from the left, whilst Gary Brazil and Gary Swan are on the back row fourth and fifth from the right respectively.
The Thomas-Brazil partnership produced 39 goals to bring about the most remarkable turn around in North End's history, and drag the club back from the brink of extinction. (National Football Museum)

McGrath's team hit promotion form in the New Year, and gates rose steadily, reaching 5,000 in September, 6,000 in November, and 7,000 in December. The visit of Wolves in February saw the first 10,000 gate for a league match since 1981, and that of Northampton the largest gate for a non-derby league match since 1978 (16,456). The signing of Frank Worthington added further interest to the run-in, which ended with North End promoted as runners-up to Northampton Town with four games in hand. A comparison of the side's form with that of the previous season reveals the scale of the manager's outstanding achievement:

1985-86 P46 W11 D10 L25 F54 A89 Points 43
1986-87 P46 W26 D12 L 8 F72 A47 Points 90

At the end of the season, Les Chapman was appointed McGrath's assistant, and Bobby Saxton was thanked by the board for his 'most valuable contribution in achieving promotion'.[37] Attendances at the first 11 games had averaged 5,677, and the next dozen 10,231, so that the average gate for the season had risen from 3,402 to more than 8,000 - the highest for seven years. This had an enormous impact on the club's finances. A profit was made, excluding the sale of players, for the first time since 1966. Match receipts soared to £566,694, and income from commercial activities added a further £190,974, to produce a profit of £134,349. This reduced the negative balance on the Profit and Loss account to £133,242.[38]

The team found adjustment to the Third Division difficult. They won only twice in their first 16 matches, but picked up in the second half of the season to finish in 16th position in 1988. Tony Ellis (£25,000 from Oldham) and Brian Mooney were quality additions to the side, which reached the northern Final of the Sherpa Van Trophy, only to lose in the second leg against Burnley. As the standard of the squad steadily progressed, the sale of 18-year-old forward Nigel Jemson to Notts Forest in a £250,000 deal, re-awakened all the old charges of opportunism, particularly as the club was preparing for the Burnley 'Cup' games, and a possible trip to Wembley. All this seemed to make good business sense, however. A profit of more than £10,000 was made on a turnover of almost £900,000 - well over twice the figure it had been in the years 1982-6. In January 1989, the club at last parted with the team bus, sold for £650 plus VAT. The vehicle's dilapidated condition and MOT prospects had extended over many pages of the board minutes in the darkest days. Ominously, the wage bill also rose markedly, a trend which would be used to justify further sales when the team failed to progress further.**(39)**

The club, however, was advancing on all fronts, and the overdraft was held below £100,000. In November 1988, McGrath drew attention to the success of the PNE Junior Youth Federation, through which 5,000 boys had passed. Some 28 boys had gone on to sign professional forms: **North End can compete with any club in the country at attracting young players. Mr. McGrath emphasised that the fruits of this work would not be seen for four years, but great progress had been made in 18 months.(40)** January 1989 saw important activity in the transfer market. Gary Brazil was sold to Newcastle for a reported £110,000 plus Ian Bogie (£210,000 in all), and Tony Philliskirk was signed from Oldham. In some respects 1988-89 was the club's most successful season between 1980 and 1999. Playing some attractive football they finished in sixth position, and thus reached the promotion 'play offs' for the first time, losing to Port Vale. Brian Mooney was now in his prime, and Watford were said to have inquired after him seven times. He was the play-maker in the 6-0 trouncing of Chesterfield in February, Preston's largest league win since the nine goals against Cardiff City 23 years earlier.**(41)** In March, North End beat Brentford 5-3 after being twice behind, and it seemed that the following season would see a strong challenge for promotion.

McGrath's greatest achievement had been in the restoring of the club's confidence around a core of exciting players, as new signing 20-year-old Steve Harper (Port Vale £35,000) recognised in March 1989: 'It is the sheer potential at Deepdale that has tempted me. You have only to look at the players on the staff to see that the club is going places'.**(42)** The team had strength in depth: **'I am now in a position to field a team of under-23's who could more than hold their own at this level. The future is very exciting',** claimed McGrath, before adding prophetically, **'We have a big squad but we also have some big money assets on the pitch. If we for whatever reason got into financial difficulties, we would have a way out without destroying the team'.(43)** This period also marked the high water mark of enthusiasm for the plastic field. The club was enjoying success on the pitch, gates had doubled, and the ground was in almost constant use. After the Hillsborough disaster the club was in the vanguard of the drive to make fans feel responsible for their clubs. As Keith Leeming explained: **We cannot stress enough to the public that it is their club. They have a stake in it, and therefore a responsibility to respect it by not vandalising it, or behaving in a way that will give PNE and the game a bad name.** Gordon Taylor was extremely enthusiastic, 'Preston is the flagship of our scheme', and council leader Harold Parker felt that the club was 'setting an example to the rest of the football world'.**(44)**

THE PRICE OF SUCCESS

North End had indeed made a wonderful recovery from the catastrophic years of the early 1980's and was geared for future progress. The failure to win promotion in 1989, however, brought immediate problems. Because the club had a large squad of players, the wage bill had begun to spiral out of control, breaching £500,000 in 1988 and rising by an extra £100,000 in each of the following years, to reach £815,000 in 1990-91. Though gate receipts actually exceeded wages in 1989, they fell far behind in the following seasons to produce deficits of £150,000 in 1989-90 and £200,000 in 1990-91. Only in 1991-92 was the deficit checked. Though comparing well with gates at Blackpool (average 4,277), Burnley (7,069) and Bolton (5,528), attendances during this spell had thus been disappointing and had not risen above the 8,000 average of the promotion year. Indeed, the handful of 10,000-plus gates at Deepdale in 1988-89 owed much to away support. The growing financial crisis was most clearly revealed by the company's gross turnover, which exceeded £1million for the first time in 1989-90. Though expenditure rose steadily in the two following seasons, income fell below £1million, opening up accumulating losses. The result of rising wage costs and falling gates can clearly be seen in the Profit and Loss account. Throughout the Leeming era the deficit had been held at around £130,000 and in 1988-89 it stood at £124,193. Had promotion been achieved in that year, it would have been possible to fund continuing expansion from the greater attendances enjoyed in the Second Division. The effect of the failure to win promotion was dramatic, and the accumulated losses grew to £347,958 in 1990, and to £602,413 in 1991.**(45)**

Though regular financial forecasts made the scale and complex nature of these problems clear to the directors, it was little understood by the fans.To them the series of player sales which followed appeared to be utterly inexplicable. The old routine of selling the previous season's most exciting prospect had seemed to have resumed with the sale of Jemson in March 1988, and Brazil in January 1989. The summer of 1989 was notable for great transfer activity which continued into the following winter. June saw the sale of Tony Philliskirk (£60,000), but also the purchase of Graham Shaw from Stoke City. In this delicate financial position, the performance of the team now became a critical factor in determining the level of director confidence.

GARRATTS
RIBBLESD

Nigel Jemson.

The club's continued ability to identify and develop youth talent is perhaps best exemplified in the 1980's by the emergence of Nigel Jemson, seen here forcing the ball forward on the plastic pitch. The fencing which came to surround Deepdale can be seen in the background. For supporters standing at the front of the crowd the impression was of standing within a cage, looking out. (Preston North End)

After the play-off excitement at the end of the 1988-89 season, only a single point was won from the first five games, and home attendances were stuck at around 5,500. Events now developed a critical momentum of their own. On 9 December, North End were knocked out of the FA Cup by Northern Premier League side Whitley Bay. Amid fears that Mooney was about to depart, Stoke made an offer for centre forward Tony Ellis. John McGrath was reported to be delighted when the move broke down, since the fee would clearly not have been enough to buy a replacement of similar quality. A few days later, however, the deal did go through for £250,000 (less 25% to his former club Oldham) and John Thomas (31) was later brought back as his replacement. The sale of the previous season's leading scorer in the midst of a dreadful season brought back memories of Charlton's sale of Alex Bruce in similar circumstances.**(46)**

North End's continuing financial weakness was revealed at the next board meeting on 21 December, when it was reported Michael Flynn had been signed from Norwich City through personal loans of £45,000 each from the club's main backers Messrs Leeming and Woodhouse. The manager pointed out that despite the loss of Ellis, the squad was a strong one, and 'firm bids' had been received for six of the remaining players, totalling £800,000.**(47)** He made this point again forcibly at the annual meeting in January 1990, stressing the strength of the club's youth policy.**(48)** At the start of February, amid a run of five defeats, Mark Patterson was sold to Bury for £120,000 (£80,000, plus Nigel Greenwood). Resentment at the club's general management, and the continued sale of top players from a struggling team, erupted at Chester on 3 February. About 1,000 North Enders watched their side lose 3-1. The defeat left the club two points clear of relegation: **Manager John McGrath, and his chairman Keith Leeming and his co-directors, had to withstand a verbal onslaught throughout Saturday's game, as the fans demanded action.(49)** The crowd chanted the names of the players sold; Philliskirk - Ellis - Patterson - Jemson.

A few days later McGrath survived the board's no-confidence vote,**(50)** but the next two home matches, both of which were lost, were marked by fairly constant booing of the board, and half-time protests. On 14 February John McGrath resigned, and Les Chapman was put in charge of the team, which two days later lost 6-0 at Reading. McGrath took it all with his accustomed humour: **Some days I thought I could see the light at the end of the tunnel. The trouble was I didn't know it was an express train heading towards me.(51)** He stated that he had wanted what was best for the club, 'and if I had to go, so be it'. The Daily Telegraph claimed that 'Fan Fury' had cost him his job, but writing in the Lancashire Evening Post, Paul Agnew sought the deeper causes. The 'craggy Mancunian with the hard man image' had done well to quickly assemble a fair side, but a number of his sales had upset supporters; John Thomas, Nigel Jemson on the eve of the Burnley 'cup' matches, and Tony Ellis. Clearly the main target of the fans' anger had not been the manager, but the Preston board, and Keith Leeming's recent trials at Chester, which had begun with the 'Leeming Out' demonstration there in 1986, were to have a third sequel in 1992. John McGrath died suddenly on Christmas Day, 1998.**(52)**

LES CHAPMAN (1990-92)

Les Chapman was the ultimate player's player. In a career that spanned 22 seasons and more than 700 League appearances, he had played at every league ground. Born in Oldham in 1948, he had long spells with Huddersfield Town (1969-74) and Oldham Athletic (1974-78) before assisting the revival of North End in 1986.**(53)** By January 1988, he had become the second-longest serving player still in action after Frank Worthington. In a feat reminiscent of the earlier achievements of Gordon Lee and Alan Kelly he managed to steer the club away from relegation in 1990. As they began their last game of the season at Shrewsbury, the team would be relegated if they lost and Cardiff City won at Bury. Although an estimated 3,000 North Enders cheered the team on, Preston were well beaten, but despair turned to triumph when news came through that Bury had 'done us a favour', and so Cardiff would go down. Les Chapman summed up his first season: **We were very poor at Shrewsbury, but the players deserve some credit for their attitude over the past few weeks when we have faced one pressure game after another.(54)** The two seasons under Chapman's charge (1990-92), though notable for the progress of Lee Ashcroft and Lee Cartwright, and the signing of Ryan Kidd on a free-transfer in August 1992, were once again dominated by the struggle to keep the club afloat financially. Important players continued to be sold, relegation was an ever present threat, and Chapman did very well to keep North End in the Third Division, finishing 17th in both of his full seasons in charge. Indeed, once the directors' patience with him had run out, North End were relegated under his successor John Beck.

Brian Mooney.
Another of McGrath's inspired signings, Mooney was an extremely classy midfield general, best remembered for his orchestration of the destruction of Chesterfield in February 1989. This was the club's best win at Deepdale since the great Cardiff City trouncing of 1966, and marked the high point of North End's revival under McGrath. (Preston North End)

Chapman's first full season, 1990-91, resulted in a record loss of almost £200,000, pushing the accumulated deficit to more than £600,000 or five times what it had been two years earlier. Gates fell again, to an average of just 5,200; income from commercial activities declined, and the wage bill rose.(55) In February 1991, Brian Mooney was sold to Sunderland for a reported £225,000. This transfer highlights an important fact about nearly all of the club's 'big money' deals since the early 1960's. The players simply wanted to move to bigger clubs and clearly could not be kept indefinitely against their will. As Mooney admitted: 'This transfer has no reflection on Preston, it is just that I have been itching for a crack at the First Division'.(56) A reported £80,000 was quickly invested in Port Vale's Ronnie Jepson. At the company's AGM it was stressed that the wages of the team's injured players alone were costing £4,500 a week. Once again the aim was to get the club into a sound financial state to enable it to avoid the need to be constantly selling players. The club's very large debt was ultimately brought down only by the sale of players. Ian Bogie left in August 1991 (£145,000), followed by Ronnie Jepson (£50,000), Alan Kelly (£210,000 plus sell on) and Warren Joyce (£130,000) the following summer. Payments for players were now phased, producing a steady stream of cash to support the club; and in August 1992, it was estimated that the club was due around £300,000 over the coming year. By 1993-94 transfers had produced a profit of £650,000 on player dealings.(57)

THE FIRST OWNER: MALCOLM WOODHOUSE (SALES)

It was becoming increasingly clear in the early 1990's that the Leeming board was facing a second cycle of financial hardship with renewed deterioration of the club's playing performance. In 1991-92, for example, £190,000 was spent on 'ground safety', but only £115,000 was received in grants. To make matters worse, after disastrous investments at Manchester City the Royal Bank of Scotland was now pressing for £50,000 guarantees from each director - a total sum of £400,000. The bank's action was to have far-reaching consequences which led to important changes to the club's ownership. From its formation in 1983, the transactions of the holding company Preston North End (Holdings) had largely been confined to very brief annual meetings, and the affairs of the old Supporters' Club. A source of continuing problems for the board throughout the 1980's, the latter's main club building was sold in 1985 to become the North End Snooker Club. When the new West stand was constructed ten years later the implications of this sale of a corner of the car park became at once apparent. With plans to inject new money into the club, attention now switched to the affairs of the holding company.**(58)**

In June 1990, new regulations required North End to lay a grass pitch in the event of their promotion. Moves to repurchase Deepdale from the Borough Council began shortly afterwards and took up much of the board's time in the remainder of the year.**(59)** A wholly unrealistic figure of around £300,000 was mentioned, far below the land's real estate value. This would revive the club's asset base, but the Council was worried that the board might sell parts of the estate for redevelopment. Talk of a move to the Preston Dockland also persisted.**(60)** There were also rumours aplenty of potential takeovers. In April 1990, the board was told of a mysterious sports journalist who had contacted the club with an offer from a 'Mr. X' to inject 'a considerable sum of money'.**(61)** In the event the move came from within the club itself. As original members of the 1982 consortium dropped out, their shareholdings were acquired by members of the Malcolm Woodhouse group of companies.**(62)** The vice-chairman now offered to refinance the club on condition that the ground be acquired and that his fellow directors of PNE (Holdings) transferred to him more than half of the equity. As the Council's position hardened in favour of granting a long lease (which was finally acquired in 1995 at a cost of £350,000), Woodhouse agreed to waive his first requirement, and the board of the holding company agreed to enable his holding to be built up to 76 per cent. At a meeting of the PNE (Holdings) board on 9 December 1990, 'The proposal was carried unanimously'.**(63)**

The takeover was confirmed at a further meeting on 12 January 1991, and the story 'broke' three days later: 'PNE Shake-Up: Woodhouse in to take control'. An official statement from the club commented: **A controlling interest has been acquired in Preston North End Holdings Limited by the MW Group of Companies (Lancaster). This action, it is felt, has been taken in the long-term interests of Preston North End Football Club.** Keith Leeming who would stay on as chairman welcomed the move: **There has been considerable and increasing speculation over the past few months. We have had a fair number of problems off the field, particularly in trying to balance the books. We needed to take some positive action and that is what has now happened. Hopefully we can now see a little light and a way forward.(64)**

PARTNERSHIP
Football (
KEITH LEEMING
BRYAN GRAY

Keith Leeming, Bryan Gray and Malcolm Woodhouse, 1994.
Keith Leeming had without doubt the most difficult term of office of any of the club's ten chairmen. Without the support of Malcolm Woodhouse (extreme right) it is unlikely that the company would have survived. Frequently the focus of considerable opposition they were the first directors to inject large sums of their own money into the club. (National Football Museum)

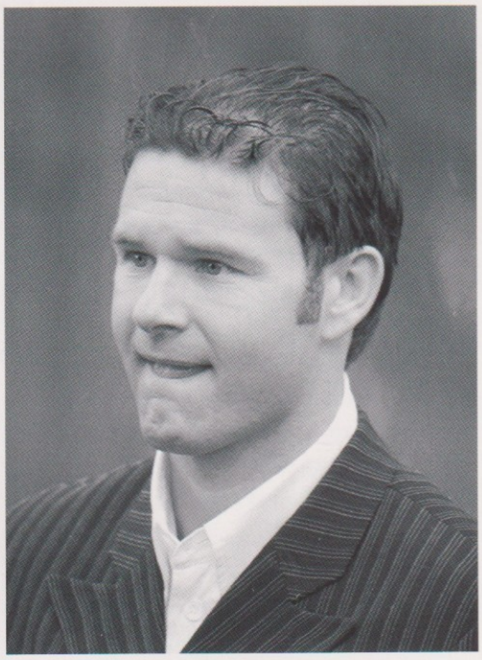
The transfer had strong defensive attributes, and maintained the remarkable tendency for continuity between North End boards, in marked contrast to the rather outlandish takeovers experienced by other clubs. Woodhouse, a man not given to publicity-seeking, was said to be rather embarrassed by the title of 'Supremo of Deepdale' given him by the press. His intentions were modest, but direct: 'Preston North End is a love of mine - I want to see it succeed'. Before becoming a director he had served his time in the years of deep and deeper frustration felt by all North Enders in the post-Finney era: **I had a seat in the Pavilion Stand just about 40 yards from where I now sit. I used**

to get uptight, and, I must confess, have been known to turn on the directors a time or two!(65)

The new chairman had been unable to prevent Mooney leaving the club; and January 1991 saw a run of four defeats, and a drop in attendances to 3,500. The directors were now required to lodge £50,000 cheques with the bank, and on 20 March the board was again informed of the personal consequences of the company failing. Action would be taken first against the two wealthiest members, Messrs Leeming and Woodhouse. It was decided that any director who did not lodge the money by 15 April should resign, and the Woodhouse group would assume his guarantee. The football club board was then reduced to six members.**(66)** The massive share transfers to the Woodhouse group took place at a meeting of the holding company board on 28 February, when 178,500 shares were transferred to 'M. Woodhouse (Sales)'. The scale of Woodhouse's investment was revealed early in May at a meeting of the directors of the holding company: **The items include the agreed capital sum, sponsorship, cars, executive boxes, donations to the youth policy, bank guarantees and £50,000 loan. The foregoing represents a total of £400,000.(67)**

The start of the 1991-92 season saw continued financial problems and the resulting transfer of Ian Bogie to Millwall. The sale of players was successful in bringing down the club's indebtedness and efforts were made to reduce the wage bill, but the consequences were quite predictable. The team's first nine games produced five draws, three defeats and a single win - eight points won out of a possible 27! The average gate at Deepdale fell ominously below 5,000 for the first time since 1982-86, and the visit of Hull City in February attracted just 2,932. Yet again North Enders faced a relegation fight, and January 1992 saw a run of four defeats. In early March, the tide seemed to have turned during a fine win against high-fliers Brentford. But three days later North End 'hit rock bottom' in a one sided 3-0 defeat at Wigan. In the Lancashire Evening Post Brian Ellis reported: **The back four were hopelessly at sea, the midfield absent without leave, the wingers mere passengers, and the front men totally lost.** Everyone at the club was under pressure. Criticism of the board was intense, and there were renewed calls for Leeming to resign. **'It often goes through my head to step down'**, **the chairman confided, 'but who would take over ..It was very depressing last night, the team were humiliated - there's no other word for it. It's been a long time since I have seen a Preston team play as badly'.** Manager Les Chapman had kept the players back for 40 minutes, emerging from the dressing-room 'white-faced with rage'. The next match now became an important six-pointer: Chester City at Deepdale.**(68)**

The board protested about Brian Ellis's coverage of the Wigan game, blaming him for inciting the supporters, and an observer from the Football



MASTER OF THE PLASTIC PITCH: TONY ELLIS, 1987. SIGNED BY JOHN MCGRATH, AND PICTURED HERE AT MCGRATH'S FUNERAL, TONY ELLIS WAS A POPULAR AND FLUENT GOALSCORER. UNDER JOHN BECK HIS 26 LEAGUE GOALS IN 1993-94 CARRIED NORTH END TO WEMBLEY AND ALMOST TO PROMOTION. HE SUBSEQUENTLY MOVED TO A CLUB ON THE FYLDE COAST. (PRESTON NORTH END)

League was at Deepdale for the Chester match.(69) As the visitors ran up their 3-0 win, crowd protests gathered pace, culminating in chants of 'What a load of Rubbish', 'Sack the Board', and the by now familiar anthem of 'Leeming out'. After the game, Malcolm Woodhouse agreed to speak to a representative of the demonstrators, and a special meeting of the board was held the following Sunday morning. At this meeting, attended by all the board and the club's president Tom Finney, Keith Leeming offered to resign: **The chairman made reference to recent press comment in the Lancashire Evening Post and the protests from a section of supporters, and pointed out the effects of these on his private life ...There followed statements from the President and Co-Directors, and all, in assuring him of their full support, made the plea that he did not take any action which would be seen as a submission to crowd or press pressures'.(70)** Both Leeming and Woodhouse agreed to stay on, but each said he would review his position at the end of the season.

Three other important decisions were made at this meeting. The board's failure to communicate their position adequately was recognised by the appointment of former Evening Post sportswriter Paul Agnew to the post of club press officer, and the board agreed to organise a phone-in for supporters on Radio Lancashire. The manager's performance was also discussed: 'It was agreed unanimously that the services of the manager be dispensed with at the earliest possible time'. Moves to secure Chapman's replacement thus probably began around this time, even though he steered the club to safety six points clear of relegation, by winning three and drawing one of their last four home games. By May, the wage bill had reached twice the amount of gate money, and the expected trading loss for the year was expected to exceed £250,000.(71) The close season saw further player sales; Jepson to Exeter City (£50,000), and Joyce to Plymouth Argyle (£130,000). The Kelly link seemed to end with Alan junior's transfer to Sheffield United (£120,000, plus £90,000 in eventual extras), but was to bring another hefty sum into the club's coffers in 1999, by way of Keith Leeming's sell-on clause.

The club's debt was successfully reduced, but another season of struggle on the pitch clearly lay ahead. The feeling persisted that the team was not performing to its capabilities, leading Chapman to comment after a 2-0 defeat by Hartlepool on 26 September: 'We got what we deserved. There were too many players going through the motions'. The end came three days later when 'Chapman was summoned before the Deepdale board this morning and told that his contract was being terminated with immediate effect'. How far the projected £100,000 signing of Mark Patterson from Derby County was a factor is unclear, but the board simply implemented their earlier resolution to dismiss a manager with the reputation of being one of the nicest people in the game.(72) Sam Allardyce was put in charge. When the post was advertised there were 69 applications, and interviews were held at 'a secret location' on 5 November. Before a board meeting on 6 December, Allardyce was told that he would not be offered the job. He was bitterly disappointed, but the board recorded their satisfaction at the way he had taken the news, and his subsequent managerial career to date, at Blackpool FC, Notts County and Bolton Wanderers, has been extremely distinguished. The board then moved on to their next business: **It was proposed from the chair and agreed unanimously that Mr. John Beck be appointed manager, and commence his duties on Monday 7th December 1992.(73)** Gary Peters was to be his assistant, and Beck's contract (received from his solicitors) had run to 16 pages. Beck promised 'fast, flowing, attractive football', and once again North Enders were to live through interesting times.

JOHN BECK (1992-94)

John Alexander Beck was born in Edmonton, North London, in 1954. A fine crosser of the ball, he played for QPR (1970-76), Coventry (1976-8) and Fulham (1978-81), before joining Cambridge United in 1986. After a spell as assistant manager there, his explosive career took off in January 1992. His sides, noted for their robustly aggressive play built around the 'Route One' principle, swept Cambridge to promotion from the Fourth Division and the Semi-finals of the FA Cup in 1990, the championship of the Third Division in 1991, and almost to promotion to the Premier League. Yet both of the clubs he was to manage in 1992-93 were to be relegated.**(74)** No manager has had so marked an effect on the club in so short a time. His first impressions were to prove prophetic: **Without a shadow of a doubt this is a sleeping giant - in fact it's been in a coma for a long time. But, with everyone's help, maybe we can wake it up.(75)** The team's style of play was altered, and by the time of the Wembley play-off final in 1994, only Ryan Kidd and Lee Cartwright remained from Chapman's side: **When I started at Deepdale, I didn't realise the size of the job. There were 28 players in the squad but most of them weren't fit or strong enough.(76)**

John Beck (extreme right), Manager of the Month, 1993.

The selection of John Beck to carry forward the recovery achieved under John McGrath was extremely controversial, for a club which had once been the masters of the close passing game. His achievement was to inject new life and hope into the club. No-one who attended the Wembley play-off in 1994 could fail to be impressed by the scale of Preston's continued support as it lifted the side after Wycombe's first goal. Though by no means a 'sleeping giant', the club clearly had the potential to achieve and sustain a much higher level of league football. (National Football Museum)

Beck's impact off the pitch was similarly impressive, and was to be an important factor in the long-term revival of the club's fortunes which may be traced from this time. No part of North End's activities escaped his attention and whole areas of its operations were galvanised. Indeed, in November 1993, he offered his £50,000 guarantee to become a director!**(77)** Much was made of his having been made an honorary 'Northerner' and being presented with a cloth cap by supporters, but he demonstrated a real flair in attracting greater support. Average gates at Deepdale had fallen to their post-1986 low of 4,722 in 1991-92, but with Beck's appointment began a steady rise thereafter, and had doubled by 1996. He was instrumental in pressing the police authority to allow the re-opening of the Town End to home supporters in 1993, which quickly became the preferred home of the club's more vocal supporters. The Town End jazz band did much to transform the atmosphere of Deepdale. As gates rose, talk of the 'sleeping giant' revived, and hopes that Beck could repeat the turn around achieved by John McGrath ran high.

Tony Ellis had rejoined the club, but the team had clearly been weakened by the sustained selling of players and had not made a good start to the season. The switch of tactics coupled with more than 40 changes to the squad's personnel had predictable consequences. Indeed a chart of the 32 players used by North End in the 1992-93 season, reveals a completely new cluster of men coming in with Beck. In marked contrast to his predecessors, Beck never shirked criticising his players. At the 1993 AGM he was asked if 'slating the players in public' was productive. His response was forthright. The players had been mollycoddled under Chapman, and since 'it has been like this at Preston for a few years now, we can't let the situation continue'. The lads required 'a kick up the backside'!**(78)**

A 1-0 away win at Exeter on 12 April appeared to make North End safe from relegation, with five games still to play. Amazingly, all five were lost. One of the most shattering afternoons in the club's history came on May Day, in a game against relegated Mansfield Town at Deepdale. After Tony Ellis had given North End the lead - his 25th goal of the season - Mickey Norbury missed a penalty, and Mansfield won easily 5-1. This was a wholly unsatisfactory and unprofessional performance. 'We were walking it, the game was ours for the taking, and in the end we let in five. That makes a change - normally we only let in two', fumed Beck.**(79)** North End were once again effectively relegated to the Fourth Division, and an enormous party of North Enders travelled to Bolton for the last rites; a remarkable tribute, in its way, to Beck's success in mobilising the club's latent support. On 1 July it was reported that season ticket sales had almost reached £100,000 - up £20,000 on the previous year.**(80)**

The 1993-94 season was to be Beck's only complete season in charge, and supporters saw a fuller development of his style of play. Though exciting, it failed to win much of a following and had to be rather toned down to suit the 'bounce' of the artificial pitch, which required a greater element of the passing game. Gary Peters was at pains to defend Beck's style of play, and the unprecedented success which it had brought at Cambridge: **John was more of an attacking player than I was and has a more scientific view of the game. He brought me to Cambridge to bring in some of the style that Wimbledon had, so I suppose it's as much my fault for all the criticism levelled at the club.(81)** Once the pitch came up, he threatened, North Enders would really see what the Beck approach was all about. Only four players in the starting line-up for the new season against Crewe Alexandra had survived from the pre-Beck era. A 2-0 home defeat was followed by a run of five wins in which 18 goals were scored. Important signings included Paul Rayner, Mike Conroy, Andy Fensome, Ian Bryson, and David Moyes.

Gates rose satisfactorily up to Christmas, but the team's form began to falter, and between 20 November and 25 February only a single match was won. A very good Cup run ended prematurely in the fourth round away to Kidderminster Harriers of the Conference League. The club finished the season in fifth position, and so entered the end of season play-offs. Having lost the first leg of the Semi-final 2-0 at Torquay, the outcome of one of the most controversial, exciting and memorable games ever seen at Deepdale, hung on the sending off of Torquay's Moore following an altercation with Paul Raynor. The game demonstrated the full extent of the change of tactics, stamina and attitude of the players, and the revival of hope among their supporters, wrought by Beck and Peters. Beck had worked on the team's psychology by appearing to write off their chances by telling them of his holiday plans for the following week, and the team was carefully prepared in a manner William Sudell would have approved of: **The directors backed me 100 per cent. We took the players away for a couple of days to get them eating right and in the best physical condition. They had the Jacuzzis, the rub downs and the right intake of water, and I think in extra-time you could see we were that much quicker and stronger than the opposition.** At the end of full time, North End led 3-1 to tie the two matches, before Paul Raynor headed home the winning goal in extra-time to take North End to Wembley. It had been one of the most intimidating performances by a Preston side, and both Torquay's Paul Buckle and Mark Sale had the broken bones to prove it.**(82)**

THE WEMBLEY TRIP OF 1994

Nothing could provide a more convincing demonstration of the footballing force Preston North End had once been - and might yet be again - than the Wembley trip of 1994.**(83)** The grim reality of the club's position was set aside and North Enders decided to enjoy a day out. Wycombe Wanderers had sold 5,500 tickets, but Deepdale was besieged. Amid chaotic scenes, some supporters were said to have waited ten hours for their tickets, and by 11pm on the first day of their sale, 20,000 had been sold, A further stock was ordered, and perhaps 25,000 made the trip. Not for the last time, supporters questioned the inefficient 'organisational mentality of the club', but police reported that the crowd had been 'remarkably patient and good humoured'. The Lancashire Evening Post went through the familiar Wembley ritual, with stories of former visits and of the individual efforts of North Enders to reach the Empire Stadium from distant parts. The honeymoon of one couple of North Enders was said to have been ruined ('PNE Honeymoon Disaster') as they were forced to make desperate efforts to get back from Gran Canaria to claim their tickets. Tom Finney expected a tight game, but pointed to the long-term significance of the visit: **For the last 30 years there has been steady decline at Preston, apart from the odd good season, and the marvellous result against Torquay has given everyone a lift.(84)**

The Preston side comprised: Woods, Fensome, Kidd, Cartwright, Squires, Moyes (capt), Ainsworth, Whalley, Raynor, Ellis, and Bryson. A good first-half ended with North End leading 2-1. On 32 minutes a long throw by Andy Fensome found Tony Ellis, who passed for Ian Bryson to score a wonderful 'bicycle kick' goal. Wycombe equalised immediately. The large Preston following then lifted their team, who went ahead again through a header by Paul Raynor from an Ellis cross off Lee Cartwright's pass. In the second half, Wycombe came back strongly to be the worthy 4-2 winners. Beck was bitterly disappointed: 'We rode our luck, we were fortunate to go in at 2-1 and then we

Kit
BAXI
BAXI
PRESTON NORTH END

Lee Ashcroft and Kurt Nogan, 1998.

From his debut in the new year of 1991, Lee Ashcroft was a popular player at Deepdale throughout his two spells at the club in the 1990's. Signed from Burnley in 1997, Kurt Nogan's Preston career spanned the club's progress from promoted newcomers to the Second Division championship. An appearance at Deepdale shortly after his transfer to Cardiff City was greeted with prolonged applause and sustained cheering. The old-boy clearly had a tear in his eye when he subsequently missed a 'sitter' against his old pals! (Preston North End)

Jamie Squires, 1994.

Every Wembley appearance by North End has provoked its controversies. 1994 was no exception, when John Beck selected Squires after just a handful of games for the club. (Preston North End)

weren't professional enough to win the game from there'. Beck was particularly criticised for choosing Jamie Squires, an eighteen-year-old, who had made just four senior appearances for the club, ahead of 'powerhouse defender' Stuart Hicks. With hindsight, the team captain's personal apology to North Enders has particular significance: **I wanted to please everybody as I am the club skipper. I want to be a winner and I want Preston North End to be winners. To be honest I am in the depths of despair...(85)**

Yet the Prestonians of 1994 had seen North End's most spectacular Wembley goal up to the present time, while the club's wonderful following had made many realise that in spite of everything, North End's potential was essentially undiminished. Unbeknown to the thousands making their way back from Wembley that night, the thirty-year decline of the club was about to be reversed. Anonymous in the vast crowd, was the manager of a local heating firm with his family. The following month he would attend a business course, the outcome of which was to transform Deepdale and revive James Taylor's schemes for a Greater North End. Whilst to the despairing David Moyes, lamenting in true North British fashion the loss of the 'hard earned money' the North Enders had invested in their day trip, would ultimately fall the responsibility of leading the new North End into the new century.

chapter

13

a new north END?

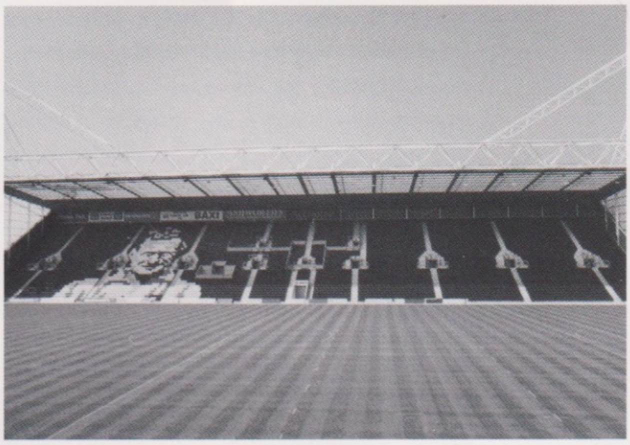
By the early 1990's, the full extent of the social and economic changes to have swept Britain in the previous 15 years was becoming clear. Whole areas of the manufacturing economy that had sustained generations of workers had gone. Most people now found employment in the service sector, and a new sort of industrial revolution was in the making.

NE
tball Club
BAX
PARTNERSHIP
P
Footb

Bryan Gray, Malcolm Woodhouse and the piece of paper: September 1994.
As the largest shareholder, Woodhouse had always stated that he was prepared to sell his stake in the club if the right buyer (in the interests of North End) came along. A number of approaches had in fact been made and rejected over the years. In this photograph he hands the new chairman the share certificate for the controlling interest. (Baxi Partnership)

This developed rapidly and was defined by the widespread use of computers linked through the Internet. The potential for the extensive and rapid communication of information would affect everyone. Along with these developments came changing social attitudes and a greater awareness of the problems of managing economic growth. The privatisation of the old state-run industries gave many an insight into the world of the Public Limited Company for the first time, and a new-born enthusiasm for the stock market grew up. As the successful entrepreneur became an icon of the New Britain, ownership of a football club became the ultimate fashion accessory. World events intensified the sense of a dawning new age: the Berlin Wall came down during 9-10 November 1989; in South Africa Nelson Mandela was released from prison on 11 February 1990; and Communist rule in the Soviet Union effectively ended on 24 August 1991.

Deregulation of the economy, technological innovation, and a booming leisure sector facilitated a re-branding of football as a mass sport. Match attendances recovered spectacularly from their all-time low in 1985-86, sponsorship-money flowed into the game, and the vast revenues received from the televisation of live football stimulated the formation of the FA Premiership, which began on 15 August 1992. The new breed of entrepreneurs quickly realised the potential value of club assets and loyalty. Vast sums were generated through 'marketing', particularly through the sale of club shirts and souvenirs. As William Sudell had realised in 1883, the ownership of a football club, carried with it the right to the football 'franchise' for that district. The old lists of shareholders were scrutinised, and assets which for generations had been regarded as valueless and something of a joke now became commodities traded on the Stock Market and quoted in the Financial Times. At the height of this mania, an investment trust was set up to trade specifically in the shares of football clubs. Alternatively, dynamic leadership, professional business management, long-term planning and easier access to money markets and investment, could be spectacularly effective. The benign face of this new corporatism was seen in the growth of business-led community-projects, which sought to make resources and skills available to locally based programmes of economic and social regeneration. At Deepdale, the breadth of these forces came together with more spectacular success than at any other football club. On Sunday 25 September 1994, a meeting at offices in Brownedge Road, Bamber Bridge, would herald the birth of a New North End.



THE SIR TOM FINNEY STAND, DEEPDALE, 1996.
BEN CASEY'S IDEA TO CREATE AN IMAGE OF FINNEY BY USING MULTI-COLOURED SEATS, WAS ANOTHER ORIGINAL DEVELOPMENT. MOST CLUBS WOULD JUST HAVE PRODUCED THE WORDING 'NORTH END' OR 'PNE' IN A BLUE AND WHITE SEATING PATTERN. THE SAME IDEA WAS TO BE REPEATED TWO YEARS LATER, WITH AN IMAGE OF BILL SHANKLY BEING USED IN THE APTLY NAMED BILL SHANKLY KOP. (PRESTON NORTH END)

BEN CASEY AND THE ITALIAN JOB

Over the years there had been a number of plans put forward to rebuild Deepdale. They all faced the same problem: the North End company did not have the resources to carry through even a modest scheme. To stand a chance of success any large scale project would have to be linked with adequate funding from its inception. Ben Casey's remarkable achievement lay in the conception of a radical design for the new ground and in bringing together the resources to make it a reality. Ultimately, his project to replace the West stand would trigger the most decisive change in the ownership of the club since 1893 and begin the slow process of the club's rejuvenation. 'Creative Director' at 'The Chase Creative Consultants' in Manchester, Casey had grown up in Deepdale, and he is an ardent North Ender: **I was brought up in the streets around the ground and some of my earliest memories are of thousands of people descending on the area particularly on dark winter nights which somehow added to the excitement. They always seemed to be in high spirits as they headed for an enormous strange building that lit up and roared and groaned.(1)**

Tom Finney and Bryan Gray: September 1994.

A number of factors combined to bring about the club's renaissance in the late 1990's, but not all of them were financial. In particular Tom Finney's knighthood and the long delayed official recognition of his contribution to sport, had a profound impact not only on the morale of the town and club, but on English football itself. (Baxi Partnership)

Casey's involvement with the club followed a call from Barney Campbell, who asked him to design a mural for the Guild Club. Members, it was felt, would appreciate a relaxing beach scene as they took their seats. The result was a remarkable painting tracing the history of the club produced in collaboration with Ted Griffiths. Other projects include the design of the great North End banner seen at Wembley in 1994 and the proposed water-effect statue of Sir Tom Finney. In 1992 his firm was designing literature for the Manchester Olympic bid; **Researching into some of the new continental stadia, particularly those in Italy, made me realise how unadventurous the redeveloped grounds in Britain were ...being a PNE supporter I was well aware that Deepdale came nowhere near the new standards being imposed on league clubs following the Taylor report.** Intensely frustrated at North End's lack of progress, he began to pour his ideas into Deepdale, and made the project a hobby. He was particularly impressed by the work of Vittorio Gregotti, who designed the Luigi Ferraris Stadium at Genoa and the Costieres Stadium in Preston's twin-town, Nimes. His early plans were developed with the help of designer Ian Campbell and architect Tony Dust, and stressed the heritage and continuity of a great British football club.

The design was uncompromisingly modern throughout, yet the ground would retain the traditional 'ends', and distinctive towering floodlights are a prominent feature of the stadium. Significantly both are features that exaggerate the atmosphere and spectacle of night matches. The move towards multipurpose stadia would be resisted; the new Deepdale would be a football ground that looked like, and was clearly recognisable as, a traditional football ground. The design was dominated by four massive corner floodlight pylons, linked by just four enormous girders that support the roof, giving uninterrupted sight lines from any part of the ground. The first stage to be developed was the West stand. The light girder supporting each of the four roofs - the 'goal-post design' - was the most novel feature of the project. To support a similar structure in the

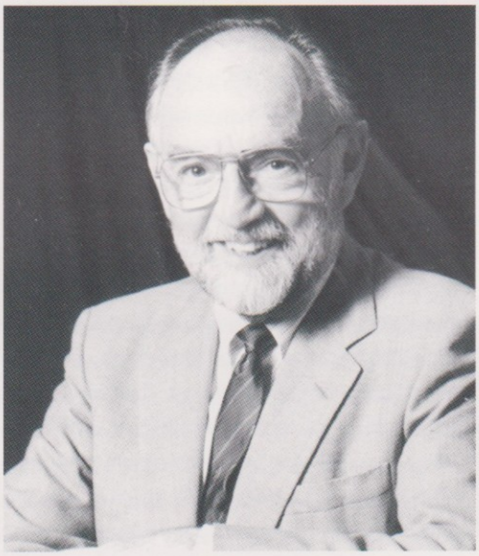
Centenary Stand at Anfield the 'crossbar' girder weighs 450 tons, making the overall appearance of the building 'heavy' looking. At Deepdale, by contrast, this girder weighs just 45 tons. This is accomplished through the suspension bridge principle. The floodlights perform the same function as the abutments of a suspension bridge, and outriggers transfer the tension away from the structure and into the ground. The girder does not have to support its own weight, and the result is a light elegant structure.**(2)**

Casey discussed his plans with director Derek Shaw and gave a full presentation of his ideas to the board. The directors recognised the need to replace much of the ground, but would not commission planning work until they had acquired ownership of the site. Preston Borough Council would not sell them the land until they had approved the board's plans for redevelopment. Virtually no-one believed that the club would ever find the financial backing for a such a visionary project. The board felt that the rebuilding of Deepdale should be a piecemeal project undertaken on a modest 'stand-by-stand' basis. Casey disagreed fundamentally, believing that a small ground would doom North End to the lower divisions for ever. Deepdale would be rebuilt only once, so it ought to be suitable for Premier League football. With the backing of the Independent Supporters' Club, he gave a full presentation to the Council and lobbied a number of Council meetings. Many members found it hard to take the proposals seriously. Since North End had no money and everyone knew it, a third party would have to be found.

The Chase undertook design work for Baxi Partnership, and though Casey was not employed on the account, he was aware of their community aspirations. He asked fellow director Mike McLauchlan to suggest a meeting with Chief Executive Bryan Gray and Finance Director Laurence King (a fellow Deepdale lad and North Ender). This took place towards the end of the 1993-94 season and was a great success. Baxi had approached the club with a proposal for shirt sponsorship in August 1990, but their offer of £60,000 was some way below the figure the club wanted for a three-year deal.**(3)** Amid total secrecy and rumours of a Middle Eastern take-over, events now moved into a high gear. The company wanted to be involved in a community project, and the two aspirations seemed to have a very good fit. Casey and King quickly produced a business plan, and **Deepdale Development; Close to the Heart of Preston** was completed by August. It was soon apparent to Casey that Baxi Partnership was thinking of taking over the club and had become convinced that the company could be made into a viable going concern.

PHILIP BAXENDALE AND BRYAN GRAY

Richard Baxendale was baptised at Leyland church on 17 July 1825. The 1841 census found him living along Marsh Lane, Preston, and employed as an ironmoulder at one of the district's foundries. In 1846 he married a Preston girl and ultimately settled in Chorley, where in 1866 he went into partnership with Joseph Heald to form the company of Baxendale & Heald, 'Railway Carriage and Wagon Builders, and Machine Makers'. This business



PHILIP BAXENDALE. (BAXI PARTNERSHIP) failed, but was re-formed as a family firm, 'Richard Baxendale & Sons' in 1881. Ever looking to diversify away from their old core business, his grandson John Baxendale conceived the idea of the perfected fire-grate, and the 'Patent Fire' went into production from 1935. The family had strong Methodist roots, and the firm was guided by two principles: advertising and promotion brought in sales, and short term profit should be used to fund long term growth. The company undertook a vast amount of war work, and after the war came to specialise in the manufacture of small central heating systems. Yet when 30-year old Philip Baxendale became general manager of the Albert Street Works in 1955, the site still employed just 55 people.

In 1963 all production was moved to the company's new site in Brownedge Road, Bamber Bridge, and progressed rapidly. With the coming of North Sea gas, the firm diversified into gas-fired heating with the Baxi Bermuda, and with sales of more than 2,275,000 units, the number of employees rose from 184 in 1960 to over 700 in 1970. Philip Baxendale's style of management was rather different from that of his predecessors, and he became strongly influenced by the ideas of the Glacier Institute, which stressed the importance of employee participation in management. Accordingly, a number of progressive innovations were introduced. He rejected the idea of either selling the firm to a rival or floating the company, and in 1983 it was sold to a carefully-devised Partnership of its employees for one sixth of its actual value. This remarkable scheme operates on similar lines to the John Lewis Partnership, with the addition that employees have a direct stake in the company and its progress. A second strand of Baxendale's vision recognised the broader responsibility of business to the local community, and by the early part of 1994 Bryan Gray was exploring suitable avenues for a greater participation.**(4)**

Gray was, at first sight, a perhaps unlikely addition to the ranks of William Sudell and James Taylor. A family man and Church of England lay preacher, the chemistry graduate joined the company from ICI in May 1993 as Commercial Director, becoming Chief Executive the following year. Under his strong leadership, the company has been redirected towards its key markets and core strengths. Baxi was well placed to acquire related businesses where its management techniques and cash could generate long-term growth, and it has expanded greatly in recent years. So that apart from North End's symbolic importance within the local community, the company did manifest a number of the features of a classical Baxi acquisition. The month after the play-off final at Wembley, Gray was invited to attend a meeting organised through the Prince of Wales's 'Business in the Community' scheme at Warrington, followed by a seminar at St.James's Palace in July. The scheme challenged businessmen to apply their skills to local problems and to get things done. The meeting with Ben Casey opened up the possibility of working with the local football club in some form of sponsored relationship. Meetings with Derek Shaw assured King that the club could be 'rescued', and research into football club management convinced the Baxi team that North End did represent a legitimate business opportunity. Gray put to the Baxi board a business plan that envisaged the redevelopment of the ground, the improvement of the playing resources of the team and a wider role in the regeneration of the Deepdale community. It was not proposed that Baxi should either bank-roll the company or view it purely as a money-making enterprise: the club should be run as a business, on modern professional lines, using Baxi management skills and the Baxi name to attract investment.

AN OFFER FROM BAXI PARTNERSHIP:

The series of meetings with Ben Casey culminated in the presentation of the business plan at the Brownedge offices on August 11th.**(5)** Amid total secrecy it was decided to proceed very slowly, and the full extent of any Baxi offer had yet to be decided. On Friday 2 September Gray and King met Malcolm Woodhouse over a sandwich lunch in the

Deepdale boardroom. Sponsorship of various kinds was considered, ranging from advert boards and shirts to a new stand. On the following Monday it became clear that the board was prepared to discuss Baxi's involvement with the club, and the matter was discussed at length at a further meeting that Thursday. Malcolm Woodhouse had always maintained that he held the club as a trust and would consider a transfer if a responsible and capable owner came along. If Gray could convince him that Baxi were up to the job, he would recommend them to his fellow directors. Gray now met Trevor Hemmings, and informed him of events; he supported the scheme and in turn would meet the directors. The key meeting between Gray and King, and Woodhouse and Hemmings, with their advisors, then followed at Brownedge Road at 10am on Friday the 16th.

The board met at the Baxi offices on the following Thursday, 'to discuss an offer from Baxi Partnership Limited to M. J. Woodhouse Snr, to purchase his shareholding in Preston North End (Holdings) Limited amounting to 71% of the issued share capital'. Baxi's development proposal was discussed at length. Subject to various safeguards, the directors agreed that Woodhouse should pursue the sale of his shares. At the end of the meeting, Keith Leeming proposed a vote of thanks to M. J. Woodhouse Snr: **For his service to the club, since 1990 in particular, and for acting in the manner in which he had always made clear he would in accepting the offer of a third party who is in a better position to further the interests of Preston North End Football Club in the future than himself.(6)** The deal was concluded at Brownedge Road on Sunday the 25th. The whole affair had been conducted in total secrecy, but Gray's introduction to the joys of running a football club came early the next morning: 'I was driving to work on the M6 at twenty past six and nearly came off the road when I heard the story that Baxi were set to acquire Preston North End'.**(7)**

Despite this last minute leak - which broke the story before the Baxi workforce had been informed of their new acquisition - the press and media were caught completely wrong footed, since many had thought that any move would come from Trevor Hemmings. Malcolm Woodhouse welcomed the take-over: 'This is an excellent opportunity for Preston North End and the town. After several meetings and discussions with Baxi I am convinced that they are a company with all the right credentials, and I am delighted at the opportunity'. Philip Baxendale added, 'We are all enthusiastic with this project as it fits so well into my vision for the Partnership ...Preston North End is another example of our commitment to being a responsible business in the widest possible sense'.**(8)** The Independent Supporters' Association welcomed the take-over, and while appreciating the historic significance of the new funding, also recognised the contribution of the outgoing board: **The ISA would like to thank Malcolm Woodhouse and his fellow directors for keeping Preston North End alive in the last few years and for all their efforts to achieve success at Deepdale, and for their willingness to speak and listen to supporters' views.(9)**

Under the front page banner, 'Baxi Buys North End', Brian Ellis of the Lancashire Evening Post looked to better times ahead after so many years of stagnation: 'It has been a disappointing period in which the burning ambition of the club's supporters has never been matched by meaningful investment from the boardroom'. Amid much talk of a £10 million deal, he raised the key question in most North Enders' minds: 'How much money for players?' In his various interviews a clearly delighted Gray tried to keep to the fundamentals: **If we are going to achieve the kind of stadium that everyone would like to have and one which is appropriate for a team in a higher division then we are looking at between eight and ten million ...There has got to be investment on the playing side and it is our role to make sure funds are available.** A project that had started life as a scheme to rebuild William Ord's West stand had quickly developed a creative logic of its own. How far this would carry North End in the years ahead no-one could then know. Gray's off-the-cuff reference to North End returning to the top flight was taken as a joke, but clearly a Premier League stadium would ultimately require a team of similar quality to fill it, a fact that Ben Casey had envisaged all along.(10)

GARY PETERS (1994-98)

When the new board met for the first time on 30 November 1994, none of the old problems had gone away. The former directors kept their seats on the board, and Bryan M. Gray became the tenth and last chairman of the 1893 company. In the previous financial year, the sale of players (£450,000) and the Wembley appearance had contributed to an operating profit of £24,000, and the deficit on the Profit and Loss account for 1993-4 had fallen slightly to £266,000. The principal sale was that of free-scoring forward Tony Ellis to Blackpool, and the wage bill topped £1m for the first time. The scale of the initial investment of Baxi funds was revealed: 'Baxi Partnership had injected £500K cash into the company in order to clear overdrafts on acquisition, repay directors loans and to acquire players'.(11) The amount paid to Woodhouse for his share holding was not made known, but was clearly a relatively minor element of the deal. An anonymous director quoted by Brian Ellis suggested 'an extremely modest amount'.(12) The tax positions of the various parties had to be allowed for, but a figure somewhere between £2-300,000 may not be too far wide of the mark. The main commitment would come through future loans, the assumption of the company's existing debts and the provision of management skill. The new order made itself apparent to manager John Beck at this first meeting:

Bryan Gray re-affirmed his requirement that all current members of the football squad should have a documented rationale for their inclusion in the squad together with all other details regarding their employment, for example transfer fees and salary costs.

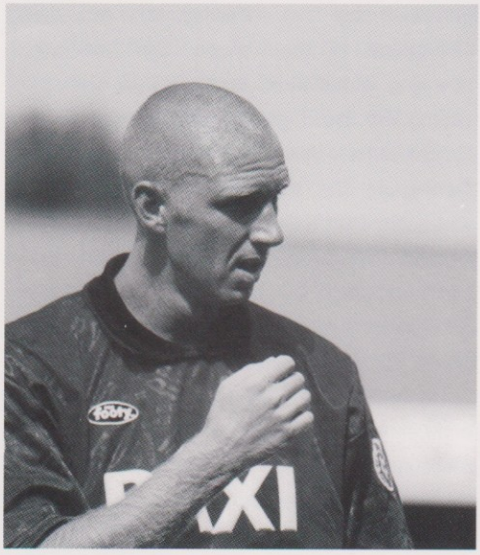
The team made a bright start to the 1994-5 season, even though the laying of the grass pitch delayed their first game at Deepdale which was won 4-0 on 3 September. North Enders were split on the issue of Beck's tactics, but would tolerate them so long as they were effective. On 17 September the team suffered a shattering 3-1 home defeat by Darlington, and when the take-over was announced a week later his position was ominously said to be 'not under immediate threat'. A run of seven consecutive defeats now began, and despite the first signings of the Baxi era (Graeme Atkinson and Raymond Sharp for £80,000 each) Beck was clearly under pressure. This surfaced at the 1994 AGM, where he was 'grilled' by shareholders, and the long ball style of play was criticised at length.(13) At the new company's first board meeting Leeming had:

Expressed unhappiness at the recent performance from the football team and his comments were generally supported by the rest of the board. John Beck asked that the board be patient and felt that performances should improve in the very near future.(14)

Faced with mutiny in the dressing room and 'a change or else ultimatum from the boardroom', Beck resigned two days later. His relations with the team had broken down some weeks before, leaving Gary Peters in charge. Players arriving for training greeted his demise with glee: **The mood out on the pitch later was, to say the least, ebullient. The first long ball was roundly jeered and the culprit was nearly debagged. 'To say we're pleased is an understatement', smiled one. Another player claimed, 'It was like an army camp and we'd had enough of it'.** Under Beck 44 per cent of games had been lost, and in October the club had fallen to its lowest league position since 1986. His league record over the five days short of two years was:

P105 W37 D21 L47 F158 A171

The former manager was reported to be 'deeply unhappy and disillusioned at his failure to revive PNE'. As Brian Ellis reported, the situation was now very different from what it had been when he had arrived. The board had changed from one 'which desperately lacked ambition and was not prepared to finance the necessary funding of players', to one with 'a vision of the future', and prepared to invest money. After the club's long period of decline, attention was about to shift back to events on the pitch.(15)



ANDY SAVILLE: 1996.
THE SEASON 1995-96 BELONGED TO GARY PETERS. BY SECURING WHAT WAS IN EFFECT THE OLD FOURTH DIVISION CHAMPIONSHIP NORTH END HAD NOW WON ALL OF THE FOUR ENGLISH DIVISIONAL TITLES. SAVILLE PROVED TO BE A SCORING SENSATION, WITH 29 LEAGUE GOALS. IN THEIR MODEST SURROUNDINGS THE TEAM PRODUCED DISPLAYS REVEALING A DEGREE OF SUPERIORITY OVER THEIR OPPONENTS WHICH HAD NOT BEEN SEEN AT DEEPDALE SINCE THE 1950'S. IN OCTOBER 1995, FOR EXAMPLE, BOTH SAVILLE AND STEVE WILKINSON HIT HAT-TRICKS IN A 6-0 WIN AGAINST MANSFIELD TOWN. (PRESTON NORTH END)

Gary Peters now took over, and all the league games in December were won! In April he outlined developments to the board: **He explained that the major change implemented during the period was that a passing game had been introduced rather than the previous long ball tactic. Both Malcolm Woodhouse and Keith Leeming commended him on this change as it brought both better results and a more attractive package. Gary Peters also explained that it was his intention to move David Moyes up to player coach in the close season.(16)** The team did very well to reach the play-offs, where they were beaten by Bury. They had missed an automatic promotion place by 14 points, but 21 points had been forfeited in the seven match run alone. League attendances at Deepdale continued their satisfactory rise, reaching 178,808, an average of 8,500. In March, Lee Cartwright had temporarily lost his place to David Beckham, a young player on loan from Manchester United. A handful of sensational performances, including a 5-0 win against Bury at Deepdale, brought back memories of the class of player North Enders had once been used to. The season may have ended differently had Beckham not been recalled to Old Trafford in the wake of Eric Cantona's celebrated altercation with a rival supporter. His loan also marked the beginnings of another fruitful relationship with Manchester United.

By the start of the 1995-96 season, the full implications of the Baxi take-over were becoming apparent both on and off the pitch. Gary Peters embarked on a team strengthening exercise with a thoroughness not seen since the early days of John McGrath. In July, demolition of the West stand began, and a public share offer was announced in early August. As Peters later confessed, his plan was simple: **My target was purely promotion - and at any cost. I was so tunnel visioned towards it that nothing else mattered, absolutely nothing. It even affected my private life ...We had to get out of Division Three, it's as simple as that. I don't know if they would have sacked me had we failed, but I wouldn't have liked to put it to the test.(17)** Team strengthening had begun towards the end of the previous season with the signing of the Carlisle United captain Simon Davey (£75,000), and during the close season two new forwards were recruited, Steve Wilkinson (Mansfield Town; £90,000), and Andy Saville (Birmingham City; £75,000). If Saville scored 15 goals a further £15,000 was due, with another £10,000 if North End won promotion; the first payment became due before the end of November!

Additional funding continued to be available for players, and in September the signings of Dean Barrick and Russ Wilcox boosted the side's defence. In November, Neil Macdonald was signed from Bolton Wanderers (£40,000), and as the run-in began the 'goal machine' Gary Bennett came from Wrexham (£200,000). Of the old hands, both Ian

Bryson and David Moyes had superb seasons, and John Vaughan in goal maintained 22 'clean sheets'. His understudies Teuvo Moilanen and David Lucas both made their league debut. Former St. Gregory's schoolboy Kevin Kilbane (18), who had been with the club since he was 14, made his full league debut at Darlington on 30 January. He was clearly a tremendous prospect and gave great hope for the future. His fellow winger Lee Cartwright also emerged as a key member of the team, but his long-term injury at Scarborough on 24 February began a potentially fatal three games wobble. His injury at Wigan three years later would probably cost North End promotion. The availability of funds to strengthen the side, in the short and long term, swept North End out of the basement division. The team's record for 1995-96 was:

P46 W23 D17 L6 F78 A38 P86

The campaign began badly; the West stand had been removed and supporters could only gaze out across Moor Park as North End lost 2-1 to Lincoln City. This was the start of a 21-match unbeaten spell, which after a run of six draws in seven games, produced some of the most exciting football seen since the 1960's. Both Wilkinson and Saville scored hat tricks against Mansfield Town on 21 October, and Cardiff City were swept away 5-0 on New Year's Day. Promotion was won on 20 April at Orient - as it had been in 1987 - and the championship trophy was presented after a final home game attended by over 18,500. This was the largest gate at Deepdale since 1981, but many thousands more were locked out, making the attendance at the ground potentially the greatest since the 1973-5 period. The club had now won the championships of all four of the English league divisions.**(18)**

For the many thousands of North Enders who greeted the team in Preston Market Place, the official reception symbolised a fundamental revival in the club's long-term fortunes. None of this escaped the all-seeing eye of Mr. Muncher: **You may not realise it yet, but this is one of those special seasons you'll remember for the rest of your life ...sealing it at Leyton Orient; winning the championship at Hartlepool, outplaying Gillingham at their place; Sav and Wilko notching a hat-trick each against Mansfield; seeing the stand go up; the 5-0 trouncing of Cardiff on New Year's Day: Bryson's goal against Darlington; the trip to Rochdale that never was...(19)** The team found adjustment to the Second Division difficult, and relegation was a distinct possibility by January. With hindsight many felt that team changes should have been made earlier, but Gary Peters kept faith with the side. David Reeves (£100,000), Mark Rankine (£75,000) and Lee Ashcroft (WBA; £150,000) were signed in the autumn, to be joined by Sean Gregan from Darlington (£300,000) in November. The crisis came in February 1997, after 5-1 and 3-1 defeats at Luton and York: **Mr Gray gave an account of the events of the previous Monday, whereby the football team manager, Gary Peters, had offered his resignation 'if that is what the Board and the fans want'. The resignation was not accepted; 'Mr. Gray said that whilst he believed that Gary Peters would come through this situation a lot stronger and that there were therefore positive aspects to the situation, he did believe that the 'Party Atmosphere' which had existed at the club for some 18 months has disappeared. He had decided that the next home game against Bury would be used as an opportunity to rekindle the atmosphere.(20)**

March saw the signings of Kurt Nogan (£150,000) and Michael Jackson (£125,000). The Bury game and four of the five remaining home games were won, and North End finished a comfortable 14 points clear of trouble. On 22 April Peters presented his analysis of the season to the board. His main conclusion was that the squad had not been collectively good enough for the division, and the later introduction of new players had upset the rhythm of the team. The close season saw the signing of a trio of players from Manchester United - Jonathan Macken (£100,000 plus £150,000 for appearances), Colin Murdoch (£40,000 plus £100,000), and Michael Appleton who became the club's must expensive signing at £500,000. The sale of Kevin Kilbane to West Bromwich Albion (£1.25m, with a 'sell-on' clause) funded these important acquisitions, giving some credibility to Bryan Gray's repeated assertion that North End were no longer a 'selling club'. Another difficult season followed. Expectations after a season of consolidation were high, and the rising pressure on Peters was not helped by a 6-0 League Cup defeat at Ewood Park, with North End being overun by a Rovers side still in the Premiership. Between 4 October and 22 November two league games were won, and six lost. On 28 December North End lost 3-1 at Grimsby. This was an appalling display made worse by an argument between Peters and David Moyes at half-time. In a meeting with the chairman, Peters again offered to resign and become youth coach, but Gray felt that the situation was still far from disastrous.

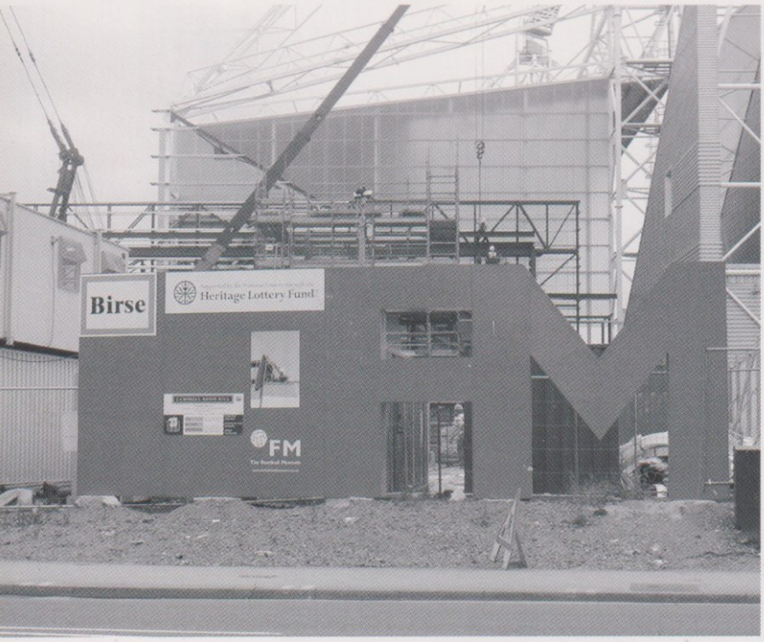
A 2-1 home defeat at the hands of Stockport County followed, and then came another dreadful performance against a weak Gillingham side. After the 3-1 defeat at Deepdale, Brian Ellis wrote in the Lancashire Evening Post: **Now there are those who detect a strong smell of mutiny in the air again at Deepdale ...With three key players out suspended and a further five absent through injury, this was a scratch team from Kent who North End's reserves would probably have seen off.** Gregan scored the consolation goal, and accepted that it was the players rather than the manager who deserved the crowd's wrath: 'It's the lads on the pitch who are making the mistakes'.(21) All other things being equal, a manager needs the confidence of the supporters and the players to maintain the support of the board. After this game the chairman wrote: **It was clear there was no will to win ...The crowd started off supportive but quickly turned restless as they could see the lack of effort on the field. It was during this game that I realised we have reached the point of no return. The team had lost all confidence and sadly the time had come to consider a change of manager.(22)**

The next day, Sunday 11 January, Gray spoke to Moyes and tried to contact Peters, finally reaching him at his golf club around 5pm. He was now prepared to accept the manager's resignation. Peters later stated his position: 'The only thing that I am bothered about is that Preston North End succeed ...I love this club so much and I do not want to stand in the way'. Around half-an-hour later the chairman phoned David Moyes and offered him the job; 'David was delighted although of course sorry for Gary'. Had Moyes not accepted, the post would probably have been offered to Ian Rush. Gray's fellow directors felt that he had been too patient and should have acted sooner.

Gary Peters after announcing his resignation, 1998.
Gary Peters will long be remembered for guiding North End to promotion out of Division Three to the accompaniment of the refrain of 'Dream On Gary Peters'. But perhaps his greatest long term contribution to the club was the signing of Sean Gregan, the Old Trafford Three, and the exciting prospects expected to emerge after 2005 - recruited in his subsequent career as Director of the club's Centre of Excellence. (Preston North End)

Meetings continued throughout the following day as the story broke in the media. All three met to check that they had the same version of events for the press conference, which Peters wanted to attend to demonstrate his support for Moyes. He had not been sacked and would take over the club's School of Excellence, subsequently developing it with great distinction. At 8-30am, Gray had a meeting with

Moyes and Gregan; 'I basically gave a pep talk. I told Sean that it was the players more than anyone who had brought about the change and asked them to now get behind David'. The press conference took place at 9pm, and 'the transition went seemlessly'. At 4pm Moyes said a few words at the usual football club board meeting and at 5-30pm 'Derek (Shaw), Tony (Scholes) and I met David Moyes. We discussed broad strategy, the need to reduce the squad size and our way of operating. David was very confident and very proud'. Two hours later, Gray rang Peters and spoke to his wife, stressing again that Gary had not been sacked. The chairman's day ended hopefully: 'Away in the evening at Macclesfield in the Auto Windscreen Trophy. Won 1-0. Cartwright scored. A good start for David Moyes'.



Construction of the English National Football Museum, Summer 2000.

The imposing structure kept North Enders guessing throughout the year 2000. The girders half-way up the side of the Bill Shankly Kop will house the Preston North End collection. (Preston North End)

THE NEW DEEPDALE AND THE NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM

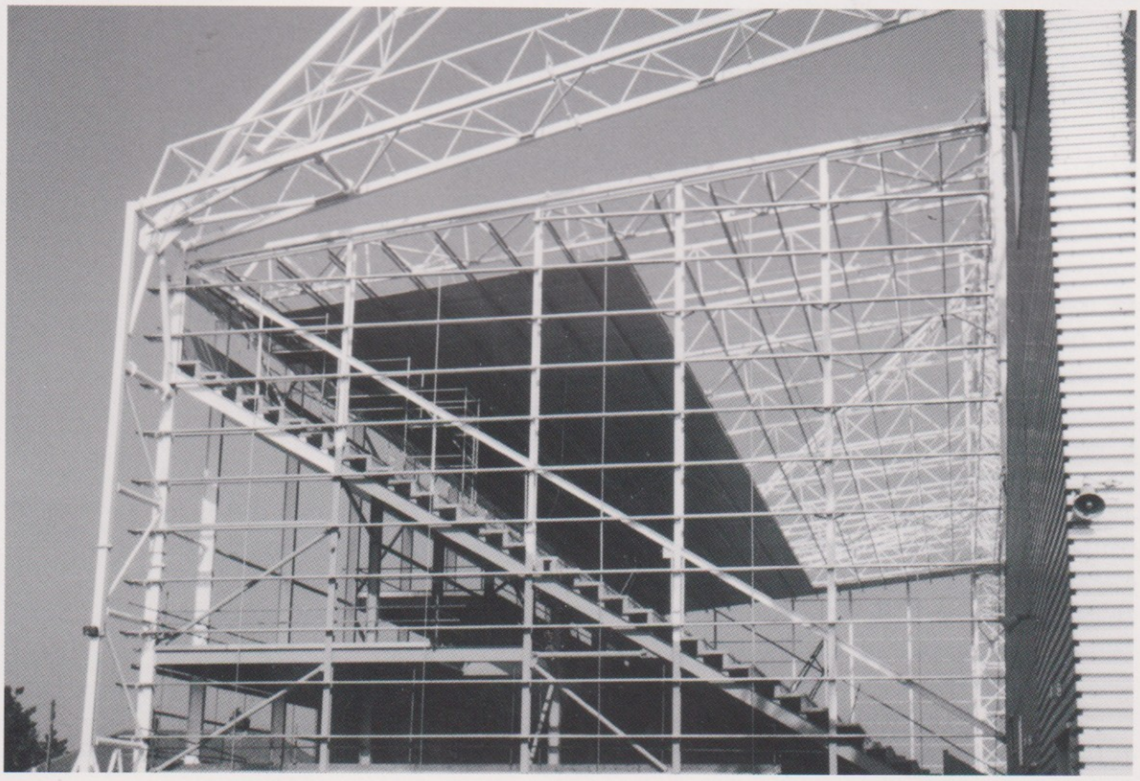
With the Baxi take-over complete and initial funding for the club's operations in place, Bryan Gray now drove the rebuilding of the ground relentlessly forward. Within a month David Robinson of the Frank Whittle Partnership had been appointed to oversee the project, and by the end of February 1995, tenders for the 'Design and Build' scheme had been received. The contract was awarded to Birse Construction. Opposition to various elements of Casey's design now emerged in the press and at council meetings. The planning application for the new stand was received on 21 December 1994, and concerns at once rose about the design. The underside of the seat terracing was to be left open to emphasise the 'football ground' appearance of the new stand: **The basic design of the West Stand appears 'brutal'. It is the most prominent of the stands at PNE, clearly visible from Deepdale road, and from most of Moor Park. It will also be one of the largest and highest profile developments in Preston in the 1990's. As such the Council does wish to achieve the highest quality of design.(23)** The planning department's report to committee found the stand 'very brutal and industrial in appearance', and feared that the exposed terracing would quickly become an eyesore.**(24)** A writer to the Lancashire Evening Post described the artist's impression of the new stand as 'indicative of a deeper malaise affecting the British psyche; a creative impoverishment which results in dull conformity and rigid homogeneity ...the apotheosis of mediocrity'.**(25)**

Discussions with the council over the club's lease also continued throughout the summer; only when this was settled would Barclays release an agreed £3m of funding. The new 125-year lease was signed only on 5 September 1995, at a cost of £350,000. On 27 April, the Football Trust confirmed an £875,000 grant towards the project, and Preston Borough Council signalled the go-ahead for the project on 5 June. Work on site began on 3 July, with demolition of the old stand. Initial costing had been worked out some months earlier, the main elements being:(26)

Demolition of the West stand	**£22,000**
Steelwork, including towers	**£850,000**
Seating	**£88,000**
Roof	**£300,000**

The sight of the demolition brought conflicting emotions among North Enders. The Bradford City fire had raised fears over the safety of wooden grandstands, no matter how historic and quaint, but the feeling persisted that once the site had been cleared nothing would then happen for years! However the strong leadership now driving the club forward was something not seen at Deepdale since the days of Sudell or Taylor, and within six months the new stand would be in use.

The clearance revealed something of the archaeology of the Old Hey Field site, and the footings of the original two tiny 'grandstands' could be seen among the rubble. A series of boreholes was sunk to depths of 15-20 metres without encountering bed-rock. Beneath the superficial infill of ash and clinker, extended the whole succession of Preston Moor's late glacial history, preserved in beds of sands, gravels and clay.(27) The efforts of the town's seventeenth century 'brick-getters' may have been revealed in a line of filled-in ponds, found to extend from below the old stand to Deepdale Road, and the wartime occupation had left its mark on the former car park in the shape of four underground concrete petrol tanks.(28) The first games of the season were played with the west side of the ground entirely open. With each home game the progress of the works could be seen,



The Bill Shankly Kop.

This photograph shows the steelwork behind the line of the stand which transmits the weight of the roof beyond the stadium. The stand houses a leisure complex and part of the National Football Museum - including the Preston North End gallery. (Preston North End) culminating in the appearance along the touch line of the 370ft, cross-bar girder. This had been manufactured from British steel in the Midlands and brought north, stopping off at Wigan for painting.

The team's form during these weeks was tremendous, and large scores allowed North Enders the leisure to gawp in amazement at the rising structure. The sight of the new floodlights in operation for the first time was a rather surrealist and unearthly experience, reviving the feelings perhaps, of those who had gathered 'in the night of Deepdale' to observe the first demonstration of such 'wonderful apparatus' in 1878. The lifting of the girder into place was achieved on 23 October 1995; the fitting out quickly followed, and the public was allowed to occupy the lower tiers for the game against Gillingham on 23 December. Ben Casey produced a squared design to allow the great man's portrait to be incorporated into the seating plan, and the 7,905 capacity Tom Finney Stand was completed on 17 March 1996, at a cost £5.03m.

Funding for the 'Tom Finney' came from the share launch of October 1995, and the share-placing of November 1996 raised over £3.5m towards the cost of team strengthening and the construction of the north stand - subsequently the Bill Shankly Kop. Since the club's unique history had been an intrinsic factor in the scheme from the outset, the idea of developing a museum at the ground emerged very early in the creative process. It acquired a momentum of its own when, following another of Gray's chance conversations, it became possible to acquire the FIFA Museum Collection of over 4,000 items built up by sports journalist Harry Langton. This was purchased through a Heritage Lottery grant of £585,000. As Keith Cooper of FIFA acknowledged, 'When we were totally convinced of the seriousness of Bryan Gray, the PNE chairman, it became more and more obvious that the collection really belonged here in Preston'. With its related collections of over 15,000 items, and the club's archive, it will be housed in a development centred in the north stand, but ultimately extending along all four sides of the ground.**(29)**

The announcement that England's National Football Museum would be housed at Deepdale was made on 5 May 1995, and Robert Pratten was appointed to research the project shortly after. The completion date was delayed to take advantage of changes in the Heritage Lottery Fund's policy and later held up by problems with the acquisition of the collection. The 1921 Kop was used for the last time on 1 May 1997, and an increased grant of £7,565,000 from the Heritage Lottery Fund was announced on 5 November. The museum's location in the game's great Lancashire homeland, at the ground of the only founder of the Football League still on its original site was an ideal one, as Gordon Taylor of the PFA recognised: 'This is great news for football and will reflect football's heritage at one of the founding clubs of our professional game'. Demolition began a month later, and the 5,942-seater stand was completed for July 1998 at a cost of £2.96m. It houses the museum, a fitness centre and offices for a local development agency. Grants towards the Football Museum had reached £11.6m by early 2000, and the project will clearly have an enormous impact on the public use of Deepdale, reinforcing the claim of the Old Hey Field to be one of the special places in the football world.**(30)**

COMING HOME: THE FOOTBALL LEAGUE

Preston had long been the home of the headquarters of the Football League, and with hindsight, its move to St. Annes in the late-1950's seemed to be another symptom of the town's failing footballing status. In 1999 the offices were transferred back, to a site on the Preston Dock estate. The committee of the Football League had first met at Preston in 1891; the highlight of a fine dinner at the Bull and Royal Hotel, was reported to be a fish dish, 'Pouding a la North End', followed by a fine 1847 port. In 1902 Harry Lockett resigned as League secretary, and Tom Charnley the 42-year-old secretary of Preston North End (full-time 1893-1902) was given the job. Accordingly the League's official address moved from Lockett's Hanley home to Charnley's house at 248 St. Paul's

Road. The first of the League's many offices in Preston was established at 13 Winckley Square. Simon Inglis describes Charnley as 'a quiet retiring man who never swore, barely touched alcohol and whose main relaxation was a game of bowls'. He was a Liberal with 'strong religious beliefs', and having progressed from working in Sudell's mill office to the secretaryship of the North End club and later the Football League, must also be considered a self-made man. All fitting credentials for the man who is said to have seconded the motion that North End should become a football club.**(31)**

In 1921 Charnley appointed his son-in-law Fred Howarth as his assistant, and was replaced by him as secretary on his retirement in 1933 at the age of 73: **Howarth ...a kindly man who was used to having his own way ...would start work every day at 10am on the dot, and do only what was necessary. He wouldn't deal with the press if it didn't suit him. He wouldn't file away material, and he would cut from the minutes of Management Committee meetings any business which he didn't relish.** Charnley's grandson Tom joined the 'family firm' as a junior in 1937, becoming assistant secretary on his demob in 1946. Though envisaged by Howarth as his successor, Tom left in 1951. His nephew Eric Howarth joined the staff in 1946, and another relative, George Howarth worked for the League before going on to become North End's longest serving secretary (1937-40, 1946-72). Fred Howarth refused to step down, and the 68-year-old first learned of his retirement in the Daily Mirror in 1956. He died in 1972, and the Charnley-Howarth link with the Football League ended four years later when Eric Howarth left. He was succeeded as Secretary by Alan Hardacre who was determined to move away from the old-fashioned Preston office, and in 1959 purchased the Sandown Hotel in St. Annes.**(32)** The League's links with Preston thus embrace the following addresses:

1902 248 St. Paul's Road.
1902-04 13 Winckley Square.
1904-13 47 Tithebarn Street.
1913-26 Castle Chambers, Cheapside.
1926-41 30 Winckley Square (requisitioned by the army).
1941-46 102 Fishergate.
1946-59 6 Starkie Street.
1999- Preston Dock estate

Though the second and third secretaries of the Football League were no doubt impartial and religious men, there can be little doubt that up to the late 1950's the League was firmly in the care of the North Enders.

PNE
SIMPLY
THE BEST
BAXI

PRESTON MARKET SQUARE: MAY 2000. (ACTION IMAGES)

GROWING A FOOTBALL CLUB: PNE PLC (1995)

Beyond the pragmatic need to fund the development of the stadium, the new board faced the long-term problem of developing the club to a point where First Division status could be maintained. The company would have to grow consistently, so that periods of footballing success could become a plateau from which further heights could be reached, and not the brief forays that they had so often been since 1971. If the football team was to progress up the divisions, the company must expand to provide the resources to sustain it. The growth of merchandising was one of the most prominent features of the late twentieth century football boom, with particular emphasis on the sale of 'replica' football kits. The board gave much attention to this area of their operations with spectacular results. The 'Kit' clothing brand was developed, and shops were opened in the new stand and at the town centre. The club's history was recognised as a fundamental asset, as Gray explained: **A brand is about being associated with certain values. In our case, Preston North End was a founder member of the Football League and has been very successful in the past. So our core values, with which supporters and people in the town associate us, are longevity and success. This can be reflected in merchandise which supporters feel proud to buy.(33)** Behind this approach was a clear vision of the place of the sport in modern society: 'It sees football support as a dignified, worthwhile part of late 20th-century life, not as at other clubs, the province of the great unwashed'.(34) Yet it did not come cheaply, and the dress conscious supporter faced that steady sequence of colourful strips which in the late-1990's passed for high fashion.

Preston: May 2000.

An open top bus carries the team into Preston's medieval market square during the promotion celebrations, in scenes little changed since 1938. (Preston North End)

The belief that modern business management skills could turn a failing football club around had been a fundamental premise of the Baxi take-over. The board, much impressed by the successful floating of the Glasgow Celtic company, announced plans for a public share offer on 8 August 1995. Baxi planned to retain 50 per cent of the shares, to maintain the 'stewardship' of the club: **Baxi has committed to subscribing for 552,250 New Ordinary Shares to be funded as £1,234,000 by way of a cash subscription and as to £975,000 by way of capitalisation of a loan currently outstanding between Baxi and the Group, and has committed to sub-underwriting 252,500 New Ordinary Shares in respect of the offer.** With the support of existing investors a minimum of £3.65m would be raised, with more if rank-and-file North Enders supported the scheme. The share-offer prospectus was the most detailed analysis of the club ever to be made public and gives a good insight into North End's affairs at the outset of the new era. The club's property, assuming completion of the new stand, was valued at £6,325,000, and the playing staff at £684,000. The company's indebtedness stood at £1,739,834, comprising bank loans of £764,834, and the sum owing to Baxi.(35)

For years supporters had demanded greater investment in the club, and the minimum holding was set at just 100 £4 shares. Yet despite intense publicity, the public share launch roused little more enthusiasm than that of 1893; 'Investors should be aware that the value of PNE shares can rise or fall ...Investors may therefore realise less than their original investment'. On 21 October 1995, the board placed the following notice in the match-day programme: **We are sorry to say that the response to the Public Share Offer has been very disappointing. Only a fraction of PNE's regular supporters have taken part in this tremendous opportunity to take the Club forward ...Please consider supporting the offer.(36)** One North Ender having filled in his form to buy 500 shares was told by his wife that she would leave him if he went ahead. The lady's threat proved no deterrent, but resistance crumbled when she threatened to take the kids as well. Another was warned that any investment in the club above £400 would be met with the immediate acquisition of a designer kitchen on hire purchase. In the event the launch went ahead, the underwriters took the strain, and £4m was raised.

The first board meeting of PNE plc took place on 1 December 1995. Malcolm Woodhouse junior stood down and the new board comprised Bryan Gray, Malcolm Woodhouse sen., Keith Leeming, Derek Shaw and Laurence King. In the first football manager's report to the new company Gary Peters considered his objectives: winning promotion; doing so within budget; improving the squad; improving team spirit, discipline and the team's public image. At the end of the meeting Gray informed the board that he had received a letter from a supporter who was lobbying for the knighthood of Tom Finney. He asked if they had any objection to his pursuing the matter; no-one of course had. The summer saw the club's promotion and the official opening of the new stand. At an impromptu meeting of board members Bryan Gray, Derek Shaw, David Taylor and Tony Scholes at White Hart Lane before the League Cup tie with Spurs, it was decided to launch a share issue that autumn. The consensus was that it was an ideal time, given the buoyant state of football shares on the Stock Market and on the back of the club's recent promotion. In August 1996 the board also discussed plans to acquire Chorley Borough RLFC from Trevor Hemmings. In contrast to the situation in the 1870's, rugby was now a summer sport, so that the stadium could be used all the year round.(37)

The autumn saw important changes to the club's structure. Tony Scoles had already been appointed as the club's first full time paid executive. David Taylor joined Tony Scholes as members of a new plc board joining Bryan Gray and Derek Shaw. Prior to this, the Preston North End board had been reconstituted in the summer of 1996, with a plc board (that effectively was the decision maker) and a Football Club board. This was later joined by a Lancashire Lynx board. Both reported to the plc board. At a meeting on 31 October, the board recognised the need for a fully independent management team to run the business, including the need to appoint a Chief Executive and free it to function like any other plc.(38) The share issue through a placing of 269,459 shares among large and institutional investors raised £3,106,371.50, and was followed by the company's launch on the Alternative Investment Market (AIM) in December.(39) The new money partly funded the construction of the north stand, and a number of companies, among them Commercial Union, AIM Trust, Guild Ventures and Lancashire Enterprises, now became leading shareholders. This had further profound implications for the nature of the company.

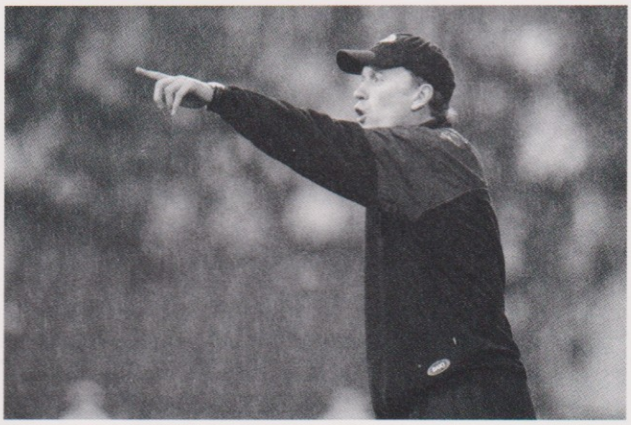
David Reeves, 1997.

Signed in October 1996, Reeves was one of the most skilful players recruited for many years, and became the club's first £2,000 per week player. The 'Invincibles' had been on about £150 a year (plus 'presents'), Joe McCall's generation had broken the £500 barrier after the Great War, and in the late- 1950's goal-ace Tommy Thompson was probably the club's first £1,000 a year player. (Preston North End)

Baxi's outright ownership had ended with the 1995 issue, and though by 1999-2000 the Partnership was still the largest shareholder with just under 40 per cent of the stock, the steady shrinking of the Baxi holding meant that PNE plc had in effect re-emerged as an independent concern with its own full time management team. Future progress could be funded through the avenues open to any company - share issues and placings, merger or take-over. In short, Preston North End was no longer owned or run by Baxi Partnership.

The second half of the 1990's was thus notable for unprecedented progress at Deepdale. Two sides of the ground were entirely replaced, development of the National Football Museum began, and the club's involvement in the wider Deepdale community gathered pace. If North End and Burnley had pegged the steady decline of the Lancashire town clubs in the 1960's and 1980's respectively, their progress and the achievements of Jack Walker's Blackburn Rovers in these years highlighted the recovery of the game in football's English heartland. With their considerable support and superb facilities, both clubs have a strong claim to be included in any second tier of the Premier League. The increase in the crowds at Deepdale began in 1993-4, and total attendances for league games exceeded 200,000 in 1995-96, rising to 275,000 in 1998-90, and almost 300,000 in 1999-2000. This represented a home gate of around 12,500 - the largest since 1971-72. Five matches alone had attracted more people than had seen the entire home league programme in 1985-86. The club's net income rose by £1m a year between 1994 and 1997, increasing from £1,860,000 to £3,847,000, and in 1998-99 it passed £5m. North End's star thus remained firmly fixed to the general level of the game's popularity.**(40)**

Changing fashions and economic trends meant that many supporters were willing and had the means to pay the greatly increased price of football, but the game can no longer be considered an inexpensive form of entertainment. The long-term consequences of the loss of support among traditional supporters will only become clear when the game's currently high level of fashion has passed. The main cost continued to be player wages. The wage bill at Deepdale rose above £1m for the first time in 1993-94, exceeded £2m in 1996-97, to reach almost £3m in 1999-2000. David Reeves became the first £2,000-a-week North Ender in 1996-97. The Bosman Ruling had an immediate impact on the incomes of clubs in the lower divisions, with potential buyers preferring to buy abroad. With the cutting-off of this trickle down effect transfers between the smaller clubs diminished greatly, but North End were something of an exception and continued to show a steady profit on transfers. This was largely due to the sale of Kevin Kilbane and Lee Ashcroft, with £844,000 and £288,000 net raised on the transfer account in 1996-97 and 1998-99 respectively. The wisdom of earlier 'sell on' clauses was also amply demonstrated when Kilbane and Alan Kelly subsequently changed clubs. Contract management had become a vital aspect of the running of a club, and no longer one that was under the manager's jurisdiction but under the control of the Chief Executive. Since 'Bosman' signings usually received larger wages, further inflationary pressure was built into the wages structure. In 1998-99 wage increases in the Premier League reached 38 per cent, but still ran at 37 per cent in the Second Division of the Endsleigh League. The pressure to win promotion and the £1m increase in TV fees that it would bring with it, had never been greater.



'NOT SO MUCH A CHIP OFF THE OLD BLOCK AS THE OLD BLOCK ITSELF' - DAVID MOYES, 2000.

MOYES IS PROUD SUCCESSOR TO THE LONG SCOTTISH TRADITION AT DEEPDALE WHICH BEGAN IN 1883 WITH THE ARRIVAL OF BELGER AND JACK ROSS. BY OCTOBER 2000 HE WAS BEING WIDELY TIPPED AS A FUTURE MANAGER OF THE SCOTLAND TEAM, WHOSE FIRST 'MANAGER' HAD BEEN THE EARLIER DEEPDALE FAVOURITE ANDY BEATTIE. (ACTION IMAGES)

DAVID MOYES (1996-)

David Moyes was born at Blythswood, Glasgow, on 25 April 1963. An amateur with Drumchapel, his professional career began in 1980 with Glasgow Celtic (24 league games), and he subsequently played for Cambridge United (79), Bristol City (83), and Shrewsbury Town (96). In 1990 he returned to Scotland playing for Dunfermline Athletic (105), before John Beck signed him from Hamilton Academicals (5). He made his debut for Preston North End on 28 September against Carlisle United and captained the side in that season's Wembley appearance. This uncomplicated, but inspiring leader of the defence, who contributed occasional but important goals, made the last of his 144 full appearances for North End fittingly against Carlisle on 24 February 1998. Moyes was never going to be an outstanding player, but team mates were always aware that he had a fine career ahead of him as coach and manager: 'Right from a young age I have always done all the coaching courses and so on'.(41) The Scot was amazingly mature and level-headed for a young man. During an interview while player-coach in January 1996, he was asked where he thought North End might be in five years: **Obviously I'd like to see us in the Premier League, but we need to see about that. The bigger clubs are becoming very rich, so it will take a major effort. I think our main objective is getting out of this division and if we do that, we can aim higher still. Hopefully our progress will be slow, steady and maintained, rather than a sprint up the hill, just to fall down again.(42)**

Moyes's greatest gift was as a coach, and he was able to develop the ability of his players season by season. With his appointment something of the old Scottish ascendancy returned to Deepdale, and observers quickly realised that here was not so much a chip off the old block, but the old block itself. As the chairman revealed: **We had identified at an early stage that David would be the man to eventually replace Gary (Peters) and he has been groomed for the role ...We want quality at Preston and we feel that David will prove to be a great manager.(43)** Despite the air of euphoria the team continued to struggle in the league, and relegation remained a distinct possibility throughout the winter of 1998. Financial pressures were also mounting, and a large funding gap had opened up. On 23 February 1998 the board considered the problem: 'A long discussion took place regarding the current cash position and the need to sell one or more players in the immediate future'. Any offer

Preston North End v. Arsenal. FA Cup fourth round, January 4th 1999.
Gregan, centre right, celebrates after Kurt Nogan's remarkable goal gives North End a 2-0 lead over the old foe. (Action Images)

would be considered on its merits, but it was realised that relegation would cost the club three years 'in terms of its overall long term strategy'.**(44)** Successive wins against Bournemouth and Luton sparked a recovery, and North End finished in the same position as the previous year - 15th.

Following two years of under-achievement, 1998-1999 saw the club's best season for many years. A match at Lincoln in August demonstrated the side's character. Having led Stoke City in the previous game only to have the visitors come from behind to win 4-3, North End did exactly the same to win by the same score the following week. Manchester City were beaten at Maine Road, and Preston entered the new year firmly positioned for promotion. The FA Cup has usually been a good indicator of the club's competence, and a new run of form in the competition now began. Ford United (3-0) and Walsall (2-0) paved the way for a third round confrontation with double winners Arsenal. With two sides of the ground complete, Deepdale was host to its largest gate since November 1973 (21,099). That more people saw this match than any other ever played at Deepdale - it was broadcast live on satellite television - was a graphic demonstration of the new forces shaping the game.

After 21 minutes, North End led 2-0 through goals by Kurt Nogan. His second was quite unique: **Manninger tipped an inswinging Eyres corner over his own bar, but when an almost identical second was curled in he completely missed it. Nogan, who had made a run from the near post, into the net behind the keeper and then out again at the far stick, was in exactly the right spot to nod it in from almost on the line.**

Rankine and Gregan matched the Arsenal midfield, but Arsenal got a goal back just before half time, and with North End reduced to ten men were eventual 4-2 winners. Though ending sadly, the game was a clear indication of the attraction that North End football could become again. In the first half the team had been outstanding, as Arsene Wenger freely admitted, 'Yes I was worried, because Preston were unbelievable in the first half. If they had scored a third goal that would have been the exit for us'.**(45)**

The club's promotion run was upset by injuries to Gary Parkinson, Ryan Kidd, Dominic Ludden (three of the back four) and Lee Cartwright. The team was not strengthened by new signings and though Steve Basham was a great success, loan players failed to reach the standard expected of them. With greatly restricted selection options Moyes struggled to keep the charge going. A surprise 1-0 home defeat by Bournemouth on 20 March was the start of an uneven run in the final weeks, despite a fine win over promoted Walsall a month later. Having occupied a promotion position for much of the season, North

Mark Rankine: 1999.

By his determination and effort midfielder Mark Rankine soon became one of the great Deepdale favourites, and was one of the great successes of the 1999-2000 season. His winning goal scored on the evening of November 10th 2000 at home to Crewe Alexandra was greeted by 'extensive and prolonged manifestations of delight' among his many admirers who had patiently waited two years for it! This goal had the effect (albeit temporary) of lifting North End above Blackburn, Bolton, Burnley and Blackpool in the league for the first time in four decades. In many respects the great Arsenal Cup match of 1998 had been the making of the present side. (Action Images)

End entered the play-offs. A no-score draw at home to Gillingham was followed by defeat in the second leg, a game seen by over 6,000 on a large television screen at Deepdale. After being considered a 33-1 bet for promotion at the outset, this had turned out to be a very good season. North End reached their highest league position since 1981, and the average attendance was the highest since 1979. A very good performance, but in the event just not quite good enough.

CELEBRATING 125 YEARS AT DEEPDALE...

The financial and psychological progress made by the club since 1994 now became very apparent. Nothing could diminish the extreme disappointment felt by all North Enders at the club's failure to win promotion. Their team had been the best footballing side in the division, and David Moyes in particular had a depressing summer. Yet it was at this point that both the championship, and the continued footballing progress of the club was secured. The company's greater financial stability cushioned the squad from the need to sell a player. Sean Gregan would still be available to lead the team, and despite rumours of offers-galore manager David Moyes stayed on.**(46)** North End would simply have to begin all over again. After a modest start, a 20-match unbeaten league run began at home to Burnley on 11 September 1999. It ended at Stoke in mid-January, and had included a further six wins in the various trophy competitions. As the New Year approached, and with it by some calculations the new millennium, many North Enders feared for the worst, and accordingly put-by stores of food and cash. A 4-0 win at Cardiff maintained the promotion drive, the money was quickly spent, and most of the surplus food had been eaten by the end of the great run on January 14th.

Periods of cyclical recovery in the club's fortunes have consistently been marked by renewed Cup success. The season 1999-2000 was no exception and saw North End reach the fifth round of the FA Cup for the first time since 1966. Progress was made via Bristol Rovers (1-0), Enfield (0-0; 3-0), Oldham (2-0) and Plymouth (3-0). The run came to an end against Everton (0-2). A crowd of 37,846 produced record receipts for the Goodison club, and the North End's failure in front of goal proved costly after they had 'established superiority in all departments of the game'.**(47)** The team comprised:

T. Moilanen
G. Alexander, M. Jackson, C. Murdoch, R. Edwards.
M. Appleton, S. Gregan, M. Rankine, D. Eyres.
J. Macken, B. Gunnlaugsson.

Substitutes: S. Basham, L. Cartwright, P. McKenna, D. Lucas, R. Kidd.

RADIO DEEPDALE
N.W.E.S.
Nationwide
FOOTBALL LEAGUE
CHAMPIONS
DIVISION

DEEPDALE: MAY 6TH 2000.
THE CLUB'S PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN CONGRATULATE THE CLUB'S YOUNG MANAGER DAVID MOYES AT THE END OF HIS SECOND FULL SEASON IN CHARGE. UNDER MOYES PERHAPS SOMETHING OF THE OLD SCOTTISH ASCENDANCY HAD RETURNED TO DEEPDALE. (ACTION IMAGES)

Three days later a potentially tricky trip to Oxford United produced a fine 4-0 win. Perhaps the team's most remarkable performance came in the second round of the former League Cup, when a 2-0 deficit away to Sheffield United was cancelled by a 3-0 win in the second leg at Deepdale. This took North End back to Highbury to meet Arsenal in the third round (2-1).

Michael Jackson, Wigan, April 4th 2000.
North End's evening win against fellow promotion chasers Wigan Athletic, marked the fulfilment of the team's season. The commitment and level of performance shown by the players rose to that of North End's great sides of the past. It was later revealed that Sean Gregan had played on with severe back injuries. In this photograph Jackson, the night's goal hero, and the rock of the defence, leaves the pitch. (Action Images)

The final run-in saw the adoption of a more pragmatic style, and rivals Burnley (3-0), Wigan Athletic (1-0) and Bristol Rovers (2-0) were beaten on their own grounds. 'Perseus' would have written of the 'awesome power of the North End'. It would be unfair to single out any individual players, but the game at Wigan on the evening of 4 April 2000 was a most memorable one, typifying the club's whole season. Almost 7,000 of the 16,000 crowd had travelled from Preston. Brian Ellis described the crucial goal: **A Paul McKenna free kick was handled by a member of the Latics wall and knocked away for a corner. When Rob Edwards played the flag kick short to Bjarki Gunnlaugsson and took the return, his chip into the middle was headed up in the air by Roberts and Jackson stretched out a boot to flick it inside the near post.(48)** With Gregan staying on the pitch despite the pain from broken bones in his back, the North End defence now withstood tremendous pressure. The most memorable picture of the night, and perhaps the lasting image of the club during the second-half of the 1990's, is of Jackson proudly leaving the pitch, his shirt suitably covered in blood and gore in a fashion his predecessors Jack Ross, Joe McCall and Bill Tremelling would have approved of. With Gregan now absent for the rest of the season, the club's enhanced resources meant that half-million pound signing Michael Appleton could step in to take his place.

Ironically the championship win was secured after a defeat at John Beck's old club, Cambridge United, on 24 April 2000. Statistically the season had been an extremely successful one. Records tumbled; Moilanen preserved a record number of 'clean sheets', 13 away games were won, and 95 points garnered. Four years after the championship of 1996 the progressive unfolding of the club's long-term planning was confirmed. Even among the annals of the world's oldest professional football club this team's achievement was remarkable:

	P	W	D	L	F	A
Home	23	15	4	4	37	23
Away	23	13	7	3	37	14
Total	46	28	11	7	74	3

Despite the high admission charges (which greatly limit the popularity of the modern game) attendances at Deepdale approached 300,000 - the highest since 1972.

Preston North End FC: Division Two Champions 1999-2000. (Action Images)

EQUIPOISE

The take-over by Baxi Partnership was the catalyst for the most consistently successful period of North End's history in the last four decades. The regeneration of Deepdale, the club's home for 125 years, continues apace and Casey's vision advances into reality. Great efforts have been made to make Deepdale an accessible and welcoming place for the whole community. The completion of the National Football Museum, and a greater appreciation of the club's historic significance, will ensure that Deepdale will always remain a rather special place. In their president, Sir Tom Finney, Preston can boast sport's senior knight, and one of football's greatest ambassadors. As the new century began, the long years of despondency passed, and North Enders could once more face the future with hope. The achievements of the late 1990's are solid enough, but could not have been made without the struggle of Keith Leeming and Malcolm Woodhouse to preserve league football in the town during what was perhaps the most absorbing and frustrating period of the club's history. The stern warning by 'Perseus' in 1903, of the need to preserve the club for future generations has thus been heeded, not least by the 3-4,000 loyal patrons during the dark days of 1985-6.

The approach of the 2000-01 season finds the North End club at a cross-roads, and the board faces the challenge of carrying the revival onwards.(49) Additional funding through greater attendances, and TV and related revenue can facilitate the continued growth of the club, but the difficulties ahead are put into context by the revelation that the Blackburn Rovers wage bill alone during their calamitous 1998-99 season exceeded £22million.(50) At Deepdale the comparable figure was just under £3million (60 percent of turnover). The club's debt was reported to be £2.6million, and the Stock Market valuation of the company was around £5.5million. By other estimates the overall assets might be worth up to £25-30 million.(51) Thus though North End's growth has been cumulative and steady, further very significant investment will be required. Yet there can be no doubt that the long-term cycle has turned decisively, and that the return of North End and Burnley to the First Division bodes well for the general well-being of Lancashire football, with both joining Blackburn and Bolton in the same division for the first time in almost forty years.

Those eager to discern lessons from the past may find many similar interludes in the club's history. The problems of Alan Jones and particularly William Ord may prove enlightening. Almost exactly 100 years

PRESTON NORTH END v. CRYSTAL PALACE: DIVISION ONE, SEPTEMBER 2000.
JONATHAN MACKEN, HERE SEEN RECEIVING SPECIAL ATTENTION FROM 'RAZOR' RUDDOCK, EMERGED AS A PROLIFIC GOAL SCORER IN THE 1999-2000 PROMOTION SEASON. LEADING THE TWO MAN PRESTON ATTACK, HE JOINS A LIST OF PLAYERS WHICH BEGAN WITH JOHNNY GOODALL AND THE YOUNGER ROSS, AND HAS INCLUDED SOME OF THE GREATEST NAMES IN FOOTBALL HISTORY. YET HE IS ALSO A CAPABLE DEFENDER, A DUTY NEVER REQUIRED OF THE LIKES OF CHARLIE WAYMAN AND GEORGE MUTCH, AND FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THE CONTINUING EVOLUTION OF FOOTBALL. A GAME WHICH, AFTER 120 YEARS OF UPS AND DOWNS, SHOWS NO SIGN OF LOOSENING ITS HOLD ON THE CREATIVE IMAGINATION OF THE NORTH ENDERS. (ACTION IMAGES)

ago, in 1901, the directors found themselves in the Second Division, and faced the problem of getting the club back into the top flight for the first time. At the Annual meeting: **The Chairman (Mr. W. E. Ord) moved the adoption of the report, and after a reference to the relegation of the club to the Second League said, in reference to the future, that they had undoubtedly great difficulties to face, and he thought they should face them as men (Applause). Immediately upon finding out their position, the directors decided to have a better team - if possible than they had for several years past - and by that means to make a bid to regain their position in the First League (Hear, hear, and applause).**(52) Two years later and no nearer their goal, Tom Houghton rounded on his critics: **He hoped that at the next meeting the shareholders would be able to congratulate themselves upon having regained their position in the First Division (Hear, hear). Some people did not refrain from saying most slanderous things regarding the directors, and alleged they did not know their business. If this was so, why did not the shareholders give them their marching orders?**(53) The Second Division championship was duly secured for the first time in 1904, and the board adopted a 'progressive policy'. Now Mr. Ord could proudly boast of the 'magnificent condition' of the club's affairs: **'This condition was largely brought about by the unanimity and good feeling amongst the players and directors who had all pulled one way to make the club a thorough success. At the last meeting there was made known the intention of the directors to erect a new stand. This was speedily brought about ...In the years to come further improvements, no doubt, would be required, for it was necessary that they should bring the ground up to date if they were to maintain and hold their position in the First Division of the league. He would, however, advise the shareholders, and such directors as might be acting in future, to be cautious in the matter...'(54)**

The Progressive Policy of the 1900's drew heavily on the earlier ideas of William Sudell, and inspired North End's mid-century success under James Taylor. The changing financial climate of the game after 1955 tilted the balance away from each of the town clubs, and only with great difficulty and much money has North End's position been clawed back to a point where an expansionary policy may again be contemplated. Yet the central riddle in this century old conundrum remains: how to develop the successful team able to sustain an expensive progressive policy long enough for it to bear fruit.**(55)** Even before the North Enders had time to gather in Preston Market Place to greet their heroes in a manner little changed from 1889, the 'watchers' were already at work, and developments in the Anglo-Scottish transfer market were anticipated. Will Scott always maintained that, 'Proud and Progressive' should be the club's motto, and as Bryan Gray warned the North Enders assembled on that sunny morning in May 2000, this would not be the last of their gatherings there.**(56)**

More interesting times ahead then, for the friends and devotees of the Preston North End Football Club...

Finally, whilst Preston North End Football Club kindly agreed to publish this book, the views and opinions expressed are entirely those of the author or those individuals to whom quotes are attributed.

researching north

END

The range and quality of the materials on which a history of the North End club must be based are extremely mixed. Fundamentally they reflect the club's split personality, as both a limited company and a popular and successful social institution.

The club's history over almost a century and a half, is given a unified structure by the effort of succeeding generations of directors and supporters to reconcile these often conflicting concepts of North End. Most of the sources familiar to the company historian are available; board minutes, company reports, wage books, and cash records of all kinds. A firm's long term performance reflects the validity of the policy of the directors, and some of the background to the key decisions can be inferred from the board minutes. The unanswerable logic of the Profit & Loss Account was seen to tower over all the financial indicators, and now provides a map by which both the short and long term shifts in the company's direction might be charted. The sporting element of the local and national press has been dissecting all aspects of the club's public persona for well over a hundred years, and has produced a great mass of material. By 1900 the local rivals of the Lancashire Daily Post had fallen away, and for the last century the 'Post' can provide the single most important archive of the club's activities. Alternatively a single page torn from the minute book in April 1928, for example, can speak volumes about Alec James's successful battle of wits with the Preston board!

For the present study it was possible to consult the company records in some depth. Virtually nothing is known to survive of the documentation of the Sudell club, and company records begin in 1893, with the formation of PNEFC Ltd. The directors' minute books (FM-PNE 060) begin on 15 September 1913, and run until August 1994. From 1983 these must be read in conjunction with the minutes of PNEFC (Holdings) Ltd. Thereafter the minutes of the board of PNEFC Plc run from December 1995, and the writer was given access up to November 1999. In all, the records of the board's deliberations are extant from 1915 with the exception of a single missing volume (June 1967 - July 1970). In addition a volume of formal minutes of the Annual General Meetings runs from 1906-1975, and the press coverage provides detailed reports of virtually all of them from 1894. Individual references are given in the text, along with details of most of the meetings in the Sudell era.

The firm's Annual Reports (including the Profit & Loss Account) provide the third main company source. In many respects they are a useful shorthand for the great mass of related but highly specific financial material. This research project provided a great stimulus to the development of a club archive, and a large number of cash books of all kinds was subsequently recovered from the bowels of the pavilion stand. These include receipt & payment ledgers (1893-1922), 'cash paid out' books (player transfers, wages: 1922-1975), 'cash received' books (transfer fees etc.: 1922-1973), and wages books (1921-1936). The familiar array of company petty cash 'day books', contain a chronological record of payments and receipts (1906-15, 1920-5, 1936-47, 1951-61), and the 'ledgers' list payments by account (fuel, travelling costs etc. 1909-24, 1934-5, 1939-50, 1952-67). The cotton mill or railway company historian will feel quite at home here. Of more direct footballing interest are the club's set of 'gate books' (FM-PNE 061); these provide crowd statistics and related information from 1884-5 (1921-32, 1941-6, 1966-89). Taken in conjunction with peripheral documents of all kinds, the club's financial affairs can be examined in some detail, but most headings are included in the Annual Report, along with the suitably improving sentiments of the succeeding chairmen.

The absence of records from the pre-company era is extremely frustrating. Papers may yet come to light, but it is perhaps significant that neither Brierley or Pilkington seem to have encountered them. Had they done so, they would definitely have informed their readers. At the time of the club's 'Golden Jubilee' in 1932 the directors had the chance to purchase a number of Sudell souvenirs, but preferred to let them go to his family in South Africa. These weaknesses can to some extent be alleviated by access to the records of related institutions. The early minute books of the Lancashire Football Association, and the Football League, preserved at Leyland and Preston respectively, shed much light on Sudell's activities, and the records of the Football Association would surely repay close scrutiny. The superbly definitive collection of 'gate books' formerly held by the National Football League has recently been deposited with the Football Museum. These provide attendance data for all the league clubs.

The development of newspaper coverage of the club's affairs has been considered in the Introduction. The difficulty of obtaining access to hard newspaper copy, rather than microfilm has rendered this aspect of football club study a great deal more demanding than it used to be. Film 'readers' generally have to be 'booked' beforehand, and can rarely be reserved for the sort of six hour session day after day which such research requires. Nearly all seasons were sampled at some point, and in the years up to 1906 often more than one paper was consulted. The multiplicity of Preston papers did not prove as great a problem as had been supposed, since all covered the club meetings and key events in a broadly similar way. Although the company records allowed some cross referencing many issues had simply to be read through in six monthly blocks. The very detailed calendar of match dates presented in Ian Rigby and Mike Payne's **Proud Preston: Preston North End's One Hundred Seasons of Football League History** (1999) will make sampling much easier in future, but Mike Collett's **The Guinness History of the FA Cup** (1993) was a very great help. 'Perseus' has left a superb series of annual 'season reviews', providing coverage from the early 1900's to World War II. They generally appeared in the week after the Cup Final, and contained a general summary, individual player notes, and a detailed statistical analysis. Interesting examples include LDP 9 May 1922, 8 May 1934 'North End's Triumphal Return', 5 May 1937, 10 May 1938 'Triumph and Influence of Preston North End'. After the war Pilkington continued the format, and the series continues in a much diminished form into the present era.

Newspapers are particularly important in the early period before 1894. The set of Football Field held by Bolton Reference Library is particularly interesting. As a general rule, all key events, Cup Finals, promotion and relegation were covered in very great detail. In the seasons up to 1947 over 80 years worth of newspapers were scrutinised. A number of large collections of press cuttings are known to exist, and it seems increasingly likely that the club itself once maintained a collection. Access to the press cuttings built up by Ted Griffiths, and donated to the Football Museum by his widow (FM-PNE 217, 1971-83: PNE 136, 1983-93) probably saved at least a year's research. Some disagreement between the sources exists over transfer fees: in this study the figures given up to about 1980 are those recorded in the board minutes, from 1980-95 they are the figures given by the press, but after 1995 details of fees have been supplied by the club.

A study of the sources themselves throws up two interesting points. Firstly, Preston North End are perhaps the best recorded professional football club. Secondly, the fall of the Sudell regime in 1893 brought about a clean break with the past, since so few of its records seem to have been allowed to survive. After 1893 the papers have steadily accumulated, and since the club has never moved home, no great clearing out has taken place. A combination of administrative inertia, dust, and eye strain, thus guide the revelation of the history of the Preston North End Football Club.

FOOTNOTES:

Abbreviations:

LDP Lancashire Daily Post.

LEP Lancashire Evening Post.

PG Preston Guardian.

PH Preston Herald.

PP Preston Pilot.

PNEFC BM

Directors' Minute Books

PNE (H) BM

The Minutes of the Holding Company

PNE PLC

The Minutes of the Public Limited Company

The prefix LRO indicates that the document is in a collection at the Lancashire Record Office, FM indicates that it is part of the collection of the National Football Museum, Deepdale.

INTRODUCTION

(1) This account is based on LDP 8 Sept 1951.

(2) N. Cardus (1950) **Second Innings** P.176. I am most grateful to Chris Aspin for drawing this book to my attention.

(3) LEP 2 Feb 1979, 3 Feb 1979.

(4) LDP 28 Apl 1964.

(5) J. Catton (1897) **The Rise of the Leaguers from 1863-1897**. P.93-103. P93. I am most grateful to Neil Carter for guiding me to this important source.

(6) A. Gibson & W. Pickford (1906) **Association Football and the men who made it.**

(7) 'Perseus' (J. A. Brierley) (1903) **Preston North End Bazaar Handbook** P.5-19. P.5. Hereafter 'Perseus (1903)'

(8) Perseus (1903) P.19.

(9) LDP 7 Oct 1899.

(10) LDP 1 Sept 1900.

(11) C. E. Sutcliffe & F. Hargreaves (1928) **A History of the Lancashire Football Association 1878-1928**. P.218. For PNE see P. 215-218.

(12) C. E. Sutcliffe, J. A. Brierley & F. Howarth (1938) **The Story of the Football League** P.51.

(13) LDP 17 Apl 1937, 21 Apl 1937, 24 Apl 1937, 27 Apl 1937, 28 Apl 1937. See also LDP
1 May 1938 (interview with Walter Pomfret).

(14) A. James & Lainson Wood (1948) **Famous Football Clubs: Official History of Preston North End**. P.12,14.

(15) R. Taylor & A. Ward (1995) **Kicking and Screaming: An Oral History of Football in England**. P. 38.

(16) H. Berry & G. Allman (1982) **Preston North End Football Club: One Hundred Years at Deepdale.** P.180.

(17) Ibid. P.229.

(18) D. Russell (1989) **Preston North End Football Club: 100 Years in the Football League** P.48.

(19) LDP 17 Apl 1937.

CHAPTER 1

THE REASONING, GOD-FEARING MEN OF THE PNECC

(1) D. Hunt (1992) **History of Preston.** P.159-68. See H. N. B.Morgan (1982) **An Introduction to the Social History of Housing in Victorian Preston.**

(2) Quoted in H. I. Dutton & J. E. King (1982) **Ten Percent and No Surrender.**

P.21, P.222 f.74.

(3) Quoted in H. N. B. Morgan (1990) **Vanished Dwellings: Early Industrial Housing in a Lancashire Industrial Town.** P.39.

(4) Hunt (1992) P.212-24.

(5) Quoted in W. A. Abram (1882) **Memorials of the Preston Guilds.** P.74

(6) Catton (1897) P.93.

(7) 'Perseus' (1903) P.6.

(8) PH 7 June 1862.

(9) PG 27 June 1866.

(10) PC 6 Aug 1864.

(11) LRO PR2952/5/30; **Parish of Christ Church: Outlines of History** (1886).
PR3044/14/1; Miscellaneous Historical Notes (St. Marks).
H. Cartmell (1892) **'Preston Churches and Sunday Schools'. Barretts Directory of Preston** (1885), (1895).

(12) LRO School Log Books: LRO SMPr 26/1 (St. Marks 1864-1906), LRO SMPr 30/1 (St. Pauls).

(13) D. Hunt (1991) **The Silent Mills: Preston and the Lancashire Cotton Famine.**

(14) PH 7 Mar 1862, 14 Mar 1862.

(15) PC 2 June 1860.

(16) Ibid.

(17) PC 22 Sept 1865.

(18) PG 19 Sept 1866.

(19) PC 19 June 1869.

(20) PH 18 Oct 1862, PG 16 Nov 1867, PG 27 Oct 1866. See also PG 14 Mar 1868.

(21) Hunt (1992) P.97-8.

(22) PG 5 Oct 1867.

(23) PH 12 Apl 1862. PG Supplement 8 Dec 1866.

(24) PC 5 Oct 1867.

(25) 'Perseus' (1903) P.6

(26) PG 27 June 1866.

(27) PG 10 July 1867.

(28) PC 1 Sept 1866.

(29) PG 29 May 1867.

(30) PG 24 Aug 1867.

(31) PG 24 July 1867.

(32) PG 31 July 1867.

(33) PG 18 Sept 1867.

(34) PC 6 June 1868.

(35) PP 21 Sept 1867.

(36) PG 5 Dec 1868. The PNECC Committee for this event included C. Holme (treasurer) and G. A. Gillett (secretary), who had organised the 5th annual Preston Olympic Ball in January 1866. See PG 13 Jan 1866.

(37) PC 12 Oct 1872.

(38) LRO CBP/84/2. No 7068.

(39) **Preston Court Leet Records;** 27 Oct 1656, 30 Jan 1654, 4 May 1653, 14 Oct 1659. See A. Hewitson (1905) **Preston Court Leet Records: Extracts and Notes** P.73, 22, 47, 114.

(40) Preston Tithe Map, LRO DRB/1/57.

(41) PH 15 Aug 1863.

(42) PG 29 Jan 1868.

(43) PC 19 Aug 1871.

(44) PC 12 Aug 1871.

(45) PC 21 Oct 1874, 24 Nov 1874, 28 Nov 1874.

(46) 'Perseus' (1903) P.6. Catton (1897) P.94.

(47) LRO CBP 30/5.

(48) LRO CBP 30/7.

(49) LRO CBP 30/5 18 July 1877, 19 Sept 1877.

(50) LRO CBP 30/6 17 July 1878, 21 Aug 1878.

(51) PH 20 Mar 1875.

(52) Catton (1897) P.94.

(53) Read F. (1997) **Duke of Lancaster's Own Yeomanry: A Short History.**

(54) (1885 Lieutenancy Roll) LRO LN 14/23.

(55) (1875 Roll) LRO LN 14/13.

(56) (1890 Roll) LRO LN 14/27.

(57) PC 10 Jan 1866, 4 Jan 1873.

(58) PC 6 Sept 1873, 15 July 1876.

(59) PC 15 July 1866, 30 Sept 1871, 25 Nov 1871, 3 June 1871.

(60) PC 19 May 1860, PH 6 Sept 1862.

(61) PC 12 Aug 1871.

(62) PC 27 Aug 1870.

(63) PH 30 June 1875.

(64) PG 14 Dec 1867.

(65) LDP 21 Apl 1927. The 'Athletic News' article was quoted in the PH 25 Mar 1876.

(66) PH 13 Nov 1878.

(67) PH 24 Mar 1875, 22 July 1876, 19 Apl 1876, 9 Aug 1876, 22 Nov 1876.

(68) See chapter 2.
(69) PH 8 Jan 1876.
(70) PC 22 Apl 1876, PH 22 Apl 1876.
(71) (AGM), PC Sept 1876; (Supper) PC 30 Sept 1876;
(72) (Football club) PC 7 Oct 1876.
(73) (First game) PH and PC 28 Oct 1876; (Second game) PH and PC 4 Nov 1876.
(74) (First win) PC 18 Nov 1876.
(75) PC 2 Dec 1876.
(76) PH 10 July 1878.
(77) PC 12 Oct 1878.
(78) PC 19 Oct 1878, 2 Nov 1878.
(79) PC 26 Oct 1878.
(80) PC 2 Nov 1878.
(81) PC 29 Mar 1879.
(82) PC 6 Dec 1879.

CHAPTER TWO

THE RISING SUN

(1) A. J. Arnold (1988) **A Game that would Pay; A Business History of Professional Football in Bradford.** P.6.
(2) C. E. Sutcliffe & F. Hargreaves (1928). P.17; H. Berry (1975) **Blackburn Rovers: A Century of Soccer** 1875-1975. P.9.
(3) LFA minute books; 28 Sept 1878, 14 June 1879, 19 June 1880, 18 June 1881.
(4) Analyses of all FA Cup results are abstracted from M. Collett (1993) **The Guinness Record of the FA Cup.** For PNE see P.372-6.
(5) PG 1 Dec 1880.
(6) PH 28 Sept 1881.
(7) PC 11 Jan 1881, 26 Mar 1881, 2 Apl 1881.
(8) PH 5 Oct 1881.
(9) PC 11 Mar 1882.
(10) PC 30 Sept 1882.
(11) Ibid.
(12) LDP 19 May 1917, 2 June 1917, 15 Feb 1936.
(13) PH 9 Nov 1881.
(14) LDP 10 June 1916.
(15) Hewitson (1905) P.19, footnotes. Abram (1877) **History of Blackburn: Town and Parish** P.403-5. Fishwick (1900) **A History of the Parish of Preston** P.350-3. See also LRO DDCr.
(16) A. Crosby (1992) **The History of the Preston Guild.** P.54.
(17) Sudell's descent can be traced through the Preston Guild Rolls (1702 - 1882), LRO CNP 2/1/12-21, and his descendants to 1972.
(18) 1851 Census, LRO mf. 25/172. Parish register entry, IGI St. Johns, Preston 1 Sept 1850.
(19) Hunt (1992) P.181. PC 18 Oct 1873.
(20) LDP 28 Aug 1911. See also LDP 2 Sept 1911.
(21) Preston Street Directories. 1891 Census.
(22) PC 18 Oct 1873, PC 27 Nov 1886, LEP 23 Nov 1886.
(23) LDP 21 Mar 1895. See chapter 4.
(24) PH 30 Mar 1889.
(25) Ibid.
(26) LDP 2 Sept 1911.
(27) Ibid.
(28) LEP 19 Sept 1888.
(29) PC 26 May 1883.
(30) PG 1 Dec 1880.
(31) Berry (1975) P.20-2.
(32) LFA Minute Books; 16 Jan 1880, 22 Jan 1880, 17 Jan 1882.
(33) PC 6 Jan 1883.
(34) PC 10 Mar 1883.
(35) PC 18 Sept 1883; suspiciously signed, 'Fairplay, Blackburn'.
(36) Catton (1897) P.96.
(37) 'Perseus' (1903) P.9.
(38) PC 15 Mar 1884.
(39) PH 19 Sept 1883, 30 Sept 1883.
(40) PH 30 Sept 1883.
(41) PH 12 Sept 1883.
(42) PH 17 Oct 1883.
(43) PC 8 Sept 1883; 13 Oct 1883.
(44) PH 10 Oct 1883.
(45) PC 13 Oct 1883.
(46) PH 1 Dec 1883; 5 Dec 1883.
(47) PH 12 Dec 1883.
(48) PH 26 Dec 1883.
(49) PC 26 Jan 1884; For a superb eyewitness

account of this event see PH 26 Jan 1884.

(50) PH 26 Jan 1884.
(51) Ibid
(52) PH 12 Dec 1883; 5 Dec 1883.
(53) PH 26 Jan 1884; 'Football Field' 27 Sept 1884.
(54) LFA Minutes; 30 Jan 1884, 25 Feb 1884, 13 Oct 1884, 16 May 1884.
(55) PH 26 Jan 1884. FM; PNE cuttings book No.1.
(56) PC 15 Jan 1884.
(57) LDP 1 May 1937.
(58) PC 29 Dec 1883; PH 28 Nov 1883.
(59) PC 23 Feb 1884.
(60) PC 9 Aug 1884.
(61) PC 25 Oct 1884, 'The Agitation in St. Peter's Ward'.
(62) Simon Inglis (1987) **The Football Grounds of Great Britain.** P.76-7. PH 16 Feb 1884.
(63) 'Football Field', quoted in Brian Tabner (1992) **Through the Turnstiles,** P.39.
(64) PH 5 Dec 1883.
(65) PC 9 Aug 1884.
(66) Sutcliffe & Hargreaves (1928) P.147.
(67) 'Football Field' 1 Nov 1884.
(68) Listed in Berry & Allman (1982) P.28-9.
(69) 'Football Field' 24 Jan 1885.
(70) Berry & Allman (1982) P.28. See also Sutcliffe & Hargreaves (1928) P.147-151, and P.153-4.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CHAMPION CLUB OF THE WORLD

(1) 'Football Field' 27 Sept 1884.
(2) LDP 11 Sept 1915.
(3) PC 24 Feb 1883, 10 Mar 1883.
(4) LDP 10 June 1916, 22 Sept 1917, 23 Mar 1918.
(5) 'Football Field' 20 Dec 1884.
(6) LDP 22 Sept 1917.
(7) PH 21 Feb 1883.
(8) 'Football Field' 23 Nov 1884, 13 Dec 1884, 20 Dec 1884, 17 Jan 1885.
(9) General career details for all the 'Invincibles' are taken from the two Cup Final special features, LEP 26 Mar 1888, PH 30 Mar 1889. See also 'Football Field' 4 Oct 1884, LDP 13 Jan 1912, LDP 14 Jan 1893.
(10) Berry & Allman (1982) P.19-20.
(11) Berry & Allman (1982) P.33.
(12) LEP 22 Sept 1888.
(13) LEP 18 June 1887.
(14) LEP 21 Feb 1903.
(15) LEP 18 Aug 1888, 19 Sept 1888, 22 Sept 1888.
(16) LEP 19 Sept 1888. He modestly described the North End as, 'Until recently' the best team in the world.
(17) LEP 29 Dec 1888.
(18) PC 12 Sept 1891, 3 Oct 1891.
(19) LDP 28 Oct 1893, 16 Nov 1893, 1 Dec 1893.
(20) LDP 20 Jan 1894.
(21) LDP 6 Feb 1894, 27 Feb 1894.
(22) LDP 7 Aug 1894, 10 Aug 1894. 'Football Field' 11 Aug 1894.
(23) 'Football Field' 17 Jan 1885. LEP 27 Nov 1886, 2 Dec 1886; LDP 10 June 1916.
(24) PC 21 Nov 1891, 28 Nov 1891, LDP 25 Feb 1928.
(25) FM. 1938 Radio Broadcast script. LEP 10 Apl 1951, 10 Nov 1951.
(26) LEP 28 Feb 1903, 21 Jan 1918, 2 Feb 1918.
(27) LDP 26 June 1917.
(28) LDP 24 Feb 1927, 26 Feb 1927.
(29) LEP 6 Nov 1886.
(30) LEP 22 Apl 1887.
(31) Quoted in LDP 14 Jan 1893, 'The Brothers Ross'.
(32) LDP 4 Aug 1894; 18 Aug 1894.
(33) Berry & Allman (1982) p.27.
(34) LDP 25 Feb 1928.
(35) LDP 5 May 1888.
(36) PC 23 Feb 1884.
(37) PC 9 Jan 1892.
(38) PC 19 Dec 1891.
(39) LDP 14 Oct 1893.
(40) LDP 26 Jan 1918.
(41) Berry & Allman (1982) p.31.

(42) LDP 21 Jan 1917. 'Football Field' 13 Dec 1884.

(43) LDP 7 June 1946.

(44) 'Football Field' 7 Mar 1885; LEP 6 Aug 1887, 15 Aug 1887.

(45) LEP 13 Nov 1887, 1 Jan 1887, 24 June 1916, 27 June 1917.

(46) PC 10 Sept 1892, 9 Sept 1893; LDP 9 Aug 1915, 18 Dec 1915.

(47) LEP 10 Dec 1887; LDP 19 June 1915, 27 June 1917, 2 May 1922.

(48) Conrad Lodziak (1974) **Understanding Soccer Tactics** P.21-3.

(49) PC 13 Sept 1890.

(50) 'Glasgow Evening News and Star' 22 Jan 1887.

(51) PC 27 Dec 1884; PC18 Sept 1886; LEP 20 Nov 1886.

(52) LEP 15 Jan 1887, 22 Jan 1887, 24 Jan 1887.

(53) LEP 2 Mar 1887, 5 Mar 1887, 7 Mar 1887.

(54) LEP 12 Mar 1887.

(55) LEP 11 Apl 1887; PC 16 Apl 1887.

(56) LEP 17 Sept 1887, 10 Oct 1887; for gambling see PC 17 Dec 1887, 31 Mar 1888.

(57) LEP 17 Oct 1887; 29 Oct 1887.

(58) LEP 12 Nov 1887.

(59) LEP 10 Dec 1887.

(60) LEP 31 Dec 1887.

(61) Ibid. PC 7 Jan 1888; LEP 7 Jan 1888.

(62) LEP 14 Jan 1888, 21 Jan 1888.

(63) LEP 4 Feb 1888, 18 Feb 1888.

(64) PC 17 Mar 1888.

(65) LEP 26 Mar 1888, 17 Nov 1951.

(66) PC 31 Mar 1888; LEP 31 Mar 1888.

(67) (Photo with the Cup) LDP 21 Apl 1937. (Englishmen) Berry & Allman (1983) P.51.

(68) LEP 31 Mar 1888.

(69) LEP 14 Apl 1888, 17 Apl 1888, 19 Apl 1888, 21 Apl 1888, 14 Apl 1888. Sutcliffe & Hargreaves (1928) p.40-2. LFA Minute Books 12 Apl 1888, 18 Apl 1888, 23 Apl 1888. See also LFA 'Official Statement', 4 May 1888, 'Lancashire Association and Preston North End Club'.

(70) LEP 1 May 1888, 'North End's Tremendous Victory over the LFA'. See also LEP 5 May 1888.

(71) LEP 1 May 1888; LFA Minutes 26 May 1888.

(72) Inglis (1988) p. 1-16. For W. Sudell see p.28-30. LEP 31 Mar 1888.

(73) 'Perseus' (1903) p.11.

CHAPTER FOUR

I FEAR THE CLUB WILL HAVE TO BREAK UP

(1) LEP 8 Sept 1888, 19 Sept 1888, 27 Oct 1888, 10 Nov 1888, 27 Oct 1888.

(2) This account is based on LEP 30 Mar 1889, 1 Apl 1889.

(3) LEP 3 Apl 1889.

(4) Quoted by LEP 3 Apl 1889.

(5) PC 6 Apl 1889.

(6) Berry & Allman (1982) P. 58-60; PC 28 Nov 1891.

(7) PC 3 Oct 1891.

(8) PC 17 Oct 1891.

(9) PC 7 Feb 1891; See also LEP 1 Jan 1887.

(10) PC 11 Apl 1891.

(11) PC 30 Jan 1891.

(12) Football League minute sheet enclosed with first minute book.

(13) PC 15 May 1886.

(14) 'Curling Ring' pers com.

(15) PC 21 June 1890, 28 June 1890.

(16) PC 16 Aug 1890.

(17) PC 30 Aug 1890.

(18) PC 16 May 1891.

(19) PC 10 Sept 1892. See chapter seven.

(20) Berry & Allman (1982) P.25.

(21) LDP 17 Sept 1886; 19 June 1887.

(22) PC 13 Feb 1890.

(23) LDP 2 Sept 1893.

(24) 'The Memoirs of Simeon Vickers'. D. Hunt Leyland Chronicle (1998) No.43. P.14-16

(25) LDP 10 Sept 1893.

(26) LEP 19 Nov 1887.

(27) 'Football Field' 24 Jan 1885.

(28) LRO. DDCm. See also PC 4 Nov 1876, 10 May 1878.

(29) PC 6 May 1882: for local contests see PH 4 June 1883.

(30) PH 21 Nov 1883.

(31) PC 15 Mar 1884.

(32) LRO. DDCm. Sale catalogue. LDP 9 Feb 1889.

(33) 24 Oct 1891.

(34) PC 7 Jan 1893.

(35) FM 'Gate Book' 1884-5.

(36) Brian Tabner (1992) **Through the Turnstiles.** P. 192. The attendance figures used throughout this study up to 1991 are taken from Tabner's statistical analyses.

(37) Berry & Allman (1982) p.40.

(38) PC 15 Mar 1884, 31 Jan 1885. For 1887 see Berry & Allman (1982) p.42, whilst the 1889 figures are given in PC 22 July 1893. In the late 1880's North End AGMs were very prone to cancellation.

(39) PC 7 Jan 1893, 14 Jan 1893; LDP 6 Jan 1893, 7 Jan 1893.

(40) LDP 21 Jan 1893.

(41) PC 18 Feb 1893; LDP 11 Feb 1893.

(42) 1st Round LDP 21 Jan 1893; 2nd Round 4 Feb 1893; Round 3 18 Feb 1893, 25 Feb 1893.

(43) PC 18 Mar 1893.

(44) PC 22 Apl 1893.

(45) Berry & Allman (1982) P. 72.

(46) 'Football Field' 22 July 1893.

(47) This account based on LDP 21 July 1893; PC 22 July 1893.

(48) LDP 1 Aug 1893, 4 Aug 1893; PC 5 Aug 1893.

(49) LDP 10 Aug 1893; 1893 Share Prospectus 'PNEFC LTD' . PC 12 Aug 1893.

(50) LDP 22 Aug 1893.

(51) LDP 23 Aug 1893; PC 26 Aug 1893; PC 2 Sept 1893.

(52) 'Football Field' 19 Aug 1893; PC 26 Aug 1893.

(53) 'Football Field' 26 Aug 1893.

(54) LDP 28 Aug 1893; the paper carried daily reports of the crisis.

(55) 'Football Field' 9 Sept 1893.

(56) LDP 22 Sept 1893, 23 Sept 1893; PC 23 Sept 1893 (containing a list of all the votes).

(57) LDP 22 Sept 1893.

(58) LDP 23 Sept 1893.

(59) LDP 20 Jan 1894.

(60) LDP 20 Jan 1894. For the 2nd and 3rd cash calls see LDP 3 Feb 1894, 16 June 1894.

(61) LDP 3 Mar 1894.

(62) LDP 17 Mar 1894.

(63) LDP 28 Apl 1894.

(64) LDP 19 May 1894.

(65) PNEFC LTD First Annual Report (1894). LDP 8 June 1894.

(66) This account is based on LDP 21 Mar 1892, 22 Mar 1895, 27 Mar 1895, 6 Apl 1895.

(67) Quoted by Berry & Allman (1982) P.72.

(68) 'South African News' 7 Aug 1911.

(69) 'Cape Town Argus' 7 Aug 1911.

(70) 'South Africa' 2 Sept 1911, P. 535.

(71) LDP 28 Aug 1911, 2 Sept 1911.

(72) Inglis (1988) P.28-30, quote P.30.

(73) Quoted by Inglis (1988) P.30.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE GREAT WAR

(1) Ord obituary LDP 2 Feb 1924.

(2) ('Perseus') Ibid.

(3) Pomfret: resigns LDP 5 June 1920.

(4) Woodhouse obituary LDP 25 May 1922.

(5) Cartmell obituary LDP 8 June 1918. Russell story LDP 2 Feb 1918. Joy; LDP 7 June 1947.

(6) LDP 24 Apl 1937.

(7) Berry & Allman (1982) P. 86.

(8) LDP 26 June 1901.

(9) PH 23 Jan 1901.

(10) PH 27 Nov 1901.

(11) LDP 1 July 1902.

(12) LDP 4 Feb 1903, 10 Feb 1903. 'Perseus' (1903) P. 19.

(13) LDP 1 July 1903.

(14) PH 4 May 1904.

(15) PH 14 Apl 1906.

(16) LDP 30 June 1906.

(17) PNEFC LTD Annual report 1894; 'Income of Farm & Land £56-11-0d'.

(18) FM. 'Proposed New Athletic Ground' (1897).

See also a similar plan dated 1893 in Berry & Allman (1982) P.56.

(19) LDP 1 July 1904.

(20) LDP 29 June 1905.

(21) LDP 30 June 1906.

(22) PH 23 June 1906, 30 June 1906.

(23) PH 23 Aug 1906, 24 Aug 1906, 5 Sept 1906.

(24) 'Football Field' 12 Aug 1911.

(25) LDP 5 June 1909.

(26) LDP 13 Jan 1912.

(27) LDP 1 June 1912.

(28) LDP 25 May 1912.

(29) LDP 6 June 1912.

(30) LDP 25 June 1912.

(31) LDP 25 June 1912, 'A Progressive Policy'.

(32) LDP 29 May 1913.

(33) LDP 28 May 1914.

(34) The original, and frequently repeated outline of the great man's career is given in LDP 24 Aug 1938. Three instalments of his 'memoirs' were published, LDP 1-8-15 Sept 1951. Appointed Chairman, LDP 24 Aug 1938. Resignation, LDP 16 Mar 1950, 1 Apl 1950. Death, LDP 22 Sept 1955, 24 Sept 1955.

(35) LDP 24 Aug 1938.

(36) LDP 1 Sept 1951.

(37) PNEFC BM 19 Sept 1916.

(38) LDP 25 Feb 1922.

(39) LDP 24 Sept 1955.

(40) LDP 9 Jan 1915, 6 Feb 1915.

(41) LDP 27 Feb 1915.

(42) LDP 17 July 1915.

(43) LDP 24 July 1915.

(44) LDP 11 Sept 1915.

(45) Ibid.

(46) LDP 28 May 1915.

(47) LDP 5 June 1915.

(48) PNEFC BM 17 Feb 1915.

(49) LDP 19 June 1915.

(50) LDP 28 Aug 1915, 7 Aug 1915.

(51) Birtwhistle (1987) **The Life of the Preston Pals (1914-18)** unpublished dissertation. H. Cartmell (1919) **For Remembrance: An Account of some Fateful Years.** P. 66.

(52) LDP 31 May 1915.

(53) W.E. Waring pers comm.

(54) LDP 4 Dec 1915.

(55) LDP 2 Jan 1915.

(56) LDP 13 Feb 1915.

(57) LDP 19 June 1915. The club also received letters, see PNEFC BM 20 Nov 1915.

(58) LDP 4 Dec 1915.

(59) LDP 31 Mar 1917.

(60) LDP 8 Sept 1917, 22 Nov 1918. Earlier he had been reported to have been wounded, see PNEFC BM 20 Nov 1916.

(61) LDP 24 Apl 1915. This rather amazing footballing recovery is analysed in LDP 28 April 1915.

(62) LDP 14 May 1915.

(63) LDP 25 Sept 1915.

(64) LDP 18 Sept 1915.

(65) LDP 30 Oct 1915.

(66) LDP 19 Feb 1916, 26 Feb 1916.

(67) LDP 29 Apl 1916.

(68) LDP 25 May 1916.

(69) LDP 17 Mar 1917.

(70) LDP 31 Mar 1917.

(71) LDP 9 June 1917.

(72) LDP 21 July 1917.

(73) LDP 25 Aug 1917.

(74) LDP 20 Oct 1917.

(75) LDP 15 Sept 1917.

(76) LDP 18 May 1918.

(77) LDP 13 Oct 1917.

(78) LDP 31 July 1915.

(79) LDP 10 Aug 1917, 30 Aug 1917, 13 Oct 1917, 28 Dec 1918.

(80) This account is based on Gail Newsham's superb book: G. J. Newsham (1994) **In a League of their own; DickKerr Ladies Football Club 1917-1965.** First match; see P.15-16. LDP 27 Dec 1917.

(81) PNEFC BM 27 Aug 1918.

(82) Newsham (1994) P.47, 51.

(83) Quoted by Newsham (1994) P.63-4. The use of League grounds was subsequently forbidden.

(84) Newsham (1994) P.99.

(85) Ibid P.97.

CHAPTER SIX
ALEC JAMES AND THE ROARING TWENTIES

(1) B. Bowker (1928) **Lancashire Under the Hammer** P.21.
(2) D. Hunt (1997) **The History of Walton-le-Dale & Bamber Bridge.** P.201-5.
(3) LDP 17 Jan 1922, 8 Apl 1922.
(4) Hunt (1992) P. 233. For the inter-war years see P. 233-44.
(5) Cartmel (1919) P.203-4.
(6) LDP 23 Nov 1918.
(7) LDP 7 Dec 1918.
(8) LDP 22 Feb 1919.
(9) LDP 22 Mar 1919, 19 May 1919. D. Turner & A. White (1993) **The Breedon Book of Football Managers** (hereafter 'Breedon'). P. 148.
(10) LDP 31 May 1919.
(11) LDP 20 Sept 1919. PNEFC BM 16 Dec 1919, 23 Dec 1919.
(12) LDP 1 May 1920.
(13) LDP 22 May 1920: 10 Apl 1920.
(14) LDP 17 Apl 1920.
(15) LDP 4 June 1920.
(16) LDP 5 June 1920, 12 June 1920.
(17) LDP 5 Mar 1921.
(18) LDP 21 June 1921.
(19) Ibid.
(20) PNEFC BM 27 June 1921, 5 July 1921.
(21) LDP 9 July 1921.
(22) LDP 27 June 1922.
(23) LDP 8 June 1921.
(24) LDP 7 Feb 1922. PNEFC LTD Annual report 1922. For fund raising and share issue, see LDP 16 July 1921, 4 Aug 1921, 17 Sept 1921.
(25) LDP 16 July 1921.
(26) LDP 18 Mar 1921, 19 Mar 1921.
(27) LDP 17 Feb 1922.
(28) LDP 2 Mar 1922, 8 Mar 1922.
(29) LDP 27 Mar 1922.
(30) LDP 28 Apl 1922, 29 Apl 1922.
(31) LDP 29 April 1922, 1 May 1922.
(32) LDP 1 May 1922.
(33) LDP 2 May 1922.
(34) PNEFC LTD Annual Report 1922. This analysis is based on the company reports 1919-29.
(35) PNEFC BM 8 May 1922. FM PNE Wage Book 5 May 1922.
(36) LDP 29 June 1921.
(37) PNEFC BM 31 Jan 1923, 31 Oct 1923.
(38) PNEFC BM 26 Apl 1922; Berry & Allman (1982) P. 120.
(39) LEP 13 Apl 1952.
(40) Breedon. P.166.
(41) LDP 28 June 1923.
(42) PNEFC BM 9 Mar 1924, 17 Mar 1924, 23 Apl 1924, 17 Sept 1924.
(43) PNEFC BM 8 Oct 1924.
(44) LDP 21 June 1924.
(45) LDP 12 Feb 1925.
(46) Quoted in LDP 21 Feb 1925.
(47) Breedon P.212.
(48) LDP 30 June 1925.
(49) Lodziak (1969) P.23-4. B. Butler (1988) **The Football League 1888-1988,** P. 75-6. Berry & Allman (1982) P.122.
(50) J. Harding (1988) **Alex James: Life of a Football Legend.** James was always known as Alec at Preston, becoming Alex at Arsenal.
(51) (W. Scott's 'memoirs' No.6) LDP 7 Nov 1953.
(52) PNEFC BM 10 June 1925, 19 June 1925, 23 June 1925.
(53) PNEFC BM 24 Aug 1925.
(54) PNEFC BM 20 Sept 1925, 24 Sept 1925, 8 Oct 1925, 15 Oct 1925.
(55) PNEFC LTD Annual Report 1926; Berry & Allman (1982) P.122-4.
(56) A. James & Lainson Wood (1948) P.12-14. Harding (1988) P.54.
(57) LEP 27 Apl 1937.
(58) PNEFC BM 14 Oct 1926.
(59) PNEFC BM 17 Mar 1926.
(60) PNEFC BM 28 June 1926.
(61) PNEFC BM 10 Mar 1927; LDP 5 Feb 1927.
(62) LDP 5 Feb 1927.
(63) LDP 14 Mar 1927; The car crash of course inevitably followed the very next day!
(64) LDP 15 Mar 1927, 18 Mar 1927.
(65) LDP 10 May 1927.

(66) Breedon P.134.

(67) LDP 23 June 1927, 18 June 1927.

(68) LDP 21 June 1927, 27 June 1927, 29 June 1927. The eclipse was seen in the heavens above Deepdale at 6.24am. A few weeks earlier, a rather confused 'Perseus' had wondered what the influence of this great event might be on the form of the North End side...

(69) LDP 14 Jan 1928.

(70) Quoted in Harding (1988) P. 93.

(71) LDP 11 Feb 1928.

(72) LDP 18 Feb 1928.

(73) LDP 25 Feb 1928; See also Harding (1988) P. 84-5.

(74) LDP 27 Feb 1928.

(75) PNEFC BM 21 Feb 1928, 14 Jan 1928.

(76) Quoted in Harding (1988) P.89-90; LDP 2 Apl 1928.

(77) LDP 14 Apl 1928.

(78) Quoted in Harding (1988) P. 93.

(79) LDP 19 Sept 1928.

(80) LDP 20 Oct 1928; (W. Scott; Memoir No.11) LDP 12 Dec 1953.

(81) LDP 17 Nov 1928.

(82) PNEFC BM 18 Dec 1928. LDP 10 Dec 1928, 'A Football Sensation: Unfounded James Story'.

(83) LDP 26 Jan 1929.

(84) LDP 6 Mar 1929.

(85) Harding (1988) P. 94.

(86) LDP 25 Mar 1929.

(87) PNEFC BM 20 June 1929. Harding (1988) P.92-101. LDP 4 June 1929; 8 June 1929.

(88) LDP 6 Jan 1934.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE AGE OF THE DICTATORS

(1) (W. Scott. Memoir No.3) LDP 17 Oct 1953.

(2) (W. Scott Memoir Nos.14, 15) LDP 2 Jan 1954, 9 Jan 1954.

(3) (W. Scott Memoir Nos.16, 17) LDP 16 Jan 1954, 23 Jan 1954.

(4) (W. Scott Memoir Nos.18, 19) LDP 30 Jan 1954, 6 Feb 1954.

(5) (W. Scott Memoir No. 20) LDP 13 Feb 1954.

(6) PNEFC BM 31 Dec 1929.

(7) LDP 27 Apl 1937.

(8) LDP 19 June 1930.

(9) PNEFC BM 5 Nov 1929.

(10) PNEFC LTD Annual Report 1930.

(11) PNEFC BM 9 Dec 1930, 24 Feb 1931.

(12) LEP 19 Jan 1952.

(13) PNEFC BM 27 Jan 1931.

(14) PNEFC BM 3 Feb 1931, 21 Apl 1931.

(15) Breedon. P.156.

(16) LDP 5 Aug 1931.

(17) LDP 22 Aug 1931.

(18) (W.Scott Memoir No. 21) LDP 20 Feb 1954.

(19) PNEFC BM 19 Aug 1930, 21 Jan 1931, 3 Dec 1931.

(20) PNEFC LTD Annual Report 1932.

(21) LDP 10 Oct 1931.

(22) LDP 18 Apl 1932, 19 Apl 1932.

(23) PNEFC BM 24 Nov 1931.

(24) PNEFC BM 1 Dec 1931.

(25) PNEFC BM 3 Dec 1931 'Extraordinary Meeting'.

(26) LDP 4 Dec 1931.

(27) PNEFC BM 10 Dec 1931. LDP 11 Dec 1931 'The First Steps in the New Progressive Policy'.

(28) LDP 11 Dec 1931. Berry & Allman (1982) P.133.

(29) LDP 9 May 1932.

(30) LDP 13 Jan 1932, 25 Jan 1932.

(31) PNEFC BM 12 Jan 1932, 19 Jan 1932.

(32) PNEFC BM 9 Feb 1932.

(33) PNEFC BM 15 Mar 1932, 8 Mar 1932. The 'Executive Committee' was redesignated the 'Management Committee' on 27 March 1934.

(34) Breedon P.219. (W.Scott Memoir No.1) LDP 3 Oct 1953.

(35) (W. Scott Memoir No.2) LDP 10 Oct 1953.

(36) (W. Scott memoir No.1) LDP 3 Oct 1953.

(37) (W. Scott Memoir No 21) LDP 20 Feb 1954.

(38) (W. Scott Memoir No.22) LDP 27 Feb 1954.

(39) PNEFC BM 16 Sept 1930.

(40) Undated Cutting FM.

(41) LDP 1 Aug 1938.

(42) LDP 2 Aug 1938.
(43) PNEFC BM 9 Feb 1932, 31 May 1932.
(44) PNEFC BM 31 May 1932.
(45) LDP 23 June 1932.
(46) PNEFC BM 16 Aug 1932.
(47) PNEFC BM 22 Nov 1932.
(48) PNEFC BM 10 Aug 1931, 11 Oct 1932.
(49) PNEFC BM 19 Dec 1932, 21 Dec 1932.
(50) PNEFC BM 21 Dec 1932.
(51) PNEFC BM 14 Mar 1932. At the same meeting the board decided to oppose the numbering of players.
(52) PNEFC BM 28 June 1933, LDP 29 June 1933, LDP 9 May 1933.
(53) PNEFC BM 9 Aug 1927.
(54) PNEFC BM 24 Jan 1932.
(55) PNEFC Supporters' Club, membership card, 1931. Loaned by Steve Hastwell.
(56) PNEFC BM 7 Mar 1933; 11 Apl 1933; 1 June 1933.
(57) PNEFC BM 9 May 1933; 1 Aug 1933.
(58) PNEFC BM 4 Apl 1934.
(59) PNEFC BM 13 June 1934.
(60) Inglis (1987) P.76. This account contains some inaccuracies.
(61) PNEFC BM 13 Nov 1934; 20 Nov 1934.
(62) PNEFC BM 25 June 1935.
(63) PNEFC BM 6 June 1934.
(64) PNEFC BM 26 May 1938, 26 July 1938.
(65) Dated 28 March 1933, the bank's agreement to take over the account was bound in with the BM.
(66) Bower D. (1996) **Shanks - The Authorised Biography of Bill Shankly** P.51-6.
(67) (Palethorpe) PNEFC BM 16 Jan 1930, 23 Jan 1930. (Dougal) 30 Jan 1934, 6 Feb 1934. (Beresford) 20 Feb 1934, 10 April 1934.
(68) LDP 26 Feb 1934.
(69) LDP 28 Feb 1934.
(70) LDP 7 May 1934.
(71) (W. Scott Memoirs No. 24) LDP 13 Mar 1954.
(72) LDP 7 May 1934
(73) PNEFC BM 6 June 1934.
(74) PNEFC BM 2 Aug 1934.
(75) PNEFC BM 6 June 1934, 29 Aug 1934.
(76) C. B. Cox (1989) **The Steam Trawlers and Liners of Grimsby.** I am most grateful for the assistance of Jack Rice and the Grimsby Fishing Vessel Owners' Association.
(77) (Grimsby) 'Evening Telegraph'. 3 Nov 1998.
(78) PNEFC BM 12 Feb 1935, 26 Feb 1935, 5 Mar 1935
(79) PNEFC BM 7 May 1935.
(80) PNEFC BM 13 May 1935, 23 May 1935.
(81) LDP 25 June 1935.
(82) LDP 28 Apl 1936.
(83) LDP 25 June 1936.
(84) Breedon P.195.
(85) PNEFC BM 9 Mar 1937, LDP 10 Apl 1937.
(86) LDP 12 Apl 1937.
(87) LDP 13 Apl 1937.
(88) LDP 15 Apl 1937.
(89) Ibid. PNEFC BM 17 Apl 1937.
(90) LDP 28 Apl 1937.
(91) LDP 30 Apl 1937.
(92) Ibid.
(93) LDP 1 May 1937.
(94) LDP 3 May 1937, 4 May 1937.
(95) LDP 1 July 1938.

CHAPTER EIGHT
THE BEST TEAM IN GREAT BRITAIN

(1) For a scurrilous modern revival of this tendency see A. Crosby (1993) **The Official Record of Preston Guild** P.76.
(2) LDP 26 Apl 1938.
(3) LDP 10 May 1938.
(4) LDP 19 Jan 1946; LDP 14 Sept 1955.
(5) LDP 25 Apl 1938.
(6) LDP 14 Feb 1938.
(7) LDP 7 Mar 1938.
(8) PNEFC BM 29 Mar 1938.
(9) LDP 27 Apl 1938, 29 Apl 1938.
(10) LDP 2 May 1938. Scott memoirs 28 10 Apl 1953.
(11) LDP 3 May 1938.
(12) LDP 2 May 1938.
(13) Bower (1996) P.67.
(14) PNEFC LTD Annual Reports 1937-39.

PNEFC BM 19 Oct 1938; 10 Jan 1939.

(15) (W. Scott Memoir No.29) LEP 17 Apl 1953.

(16) PNEFC BM 30 Aug 1938, 13 Sept 1938.

(17) PNEFC LTD Annual Reports 1934-9.

(18) PNEFC BM 5 June 1919.

(19) PNEFC BM 23 Mar 1921.

(20) PNEFC BM 23 Aug 1927, 14 May 1929.

(21) PNEFC BM 16 Nov 1937, 23 Nov 1937, 30 Nov 1937.

(22) LDP 30 Apl 1912.

(23) LDP 27 June 1922.

(24) LDP 28 June 1928.

(25) LDP 30 June 1925; PNEFC BM 23 June 1925, 29 Nov 1927, 19 July 1934.

(26) LDP 23 June 1927, 28 June 1928.

(27) LDP 18 June 1931.

(28) LDP 8 Feb 1938. PNEFC BM 8 Feb 1938.

(29) LDP 13 July 1939

(30) Hunt (1997) P.213-4.

(31) LDP 25 Sept 1935.

(32) PNEFC BM 15 Oct 1935.

(33) PNEFC BM 30 Aug 1938, 15 Nov 1938.

(34) PNEFC BM 14 Mar 1939, 21 Mar 1939, 16 Mar 1939.

(35) PNEFC BM 'Extraordinary Meeting' 5 Sept 1939.

(36) J. Rollin (1985) **Soccer At War 1939-45** P. 67.

(37) (W. Scott Memoir No.29) LDP 17 Apl 1953.

(38) Rollin (1985) P.36.

(39) **Janes Fighting Ships** 1943-4 P.89. PNEFC BM 16 Jan 1945. I am most grateful for the help of Aidan Turner-Bishop in tracing the career of HMS Preston North End.

(40) David Willacy LDP 8 Oct 1942, PNEFC BM 8 Nov 1941, 24 Mar 1942. Tommy Taylor LDP 8 Oct 1942, PNEFC BM 14 Apl 1942. Jack Owens LDP 24 Aug 1943, PNEFC BM 24 Aug 1943 Eddie Gore LDP 8 Nov 1944 Jack Darley LDP 8 Nov 1944.

(41) PNEFC BM 21 Nov 1939, 12 Nov 1939, 23 Jan 1940.

(42) PNEFC BM 5 Mar 1940, 1 Sept 1940.

(43) PNEFC BM 15 Sept 1939, 5 Oct 1939.

(44) PNEFC BM 28 June 1940.

(45) PNEFC BM 2 July 1940.

(46) PNEFC BM 31 July 1940, 24 May 1941.

(47) LDP 15 July 1940, 2 Aug 1940.

(48) (W. Scott Memoir No. 29) LDP 17 Apl 1953. PNEFC BM 28 Aug 1942, 3 Nov 1943.

(49) This account of Deepdale's most dangerous 'visitor' is based on T. Robertson (1955) **The Golden Horseshoe** and V. E. Tarrant (1989) **The U-Boat Offensive 1914-45.** I am most grateful for the assistance of Jack Rice and Dr Stephen Bull.

(50) Robertson (1955) P.153.

(51) Quoted in 'Daily Telegraph' (obituary) 12 August 1998.

(52) (W. Scott Memoir No. 29) LDP 17 Apl 1953.

(53) PNEFC BM 23 Aug 1938.

(54) PNEFC BM 2 Mar 1937, 11 Jan 1938.

(55) (W. Scott memoir No. 29) LDP 17 Apl 1953. For North End's war record see Rollin (1985) P.222-9, for player appearances see P.266, 294, 321, 420, 456-7.

(56) Rollin (1985) P.234.

(57) Berry & Allman (1982) P.159-62. LDP 2 June 1941. (W. Scott Memoir No. 29) LDP 17 Apl 1953.

(58) LDP 2 June 1941.

(59) LDP 7 June 1941.

(60) LDP 31 July 1941. See also PNEFC BM 5 May 1941.

(61) Hunt (1992) P.244-8; (1997) P.214-9.

(62) PNE BM 2 June 1942; LDP 8 Oct 1942.

(63) LDP 5 Nov 1943.

(64) PNEFC BM 18 Apl 1944, 6 June 1944.

(65) PNEFC LTD Annual Reports 1937-46.

(66) PNEFC BM 10 Oct 1945.

(67) LDP 23 Feb 1946.

(68) LDP 5 Jan 1945.

(69) LDP 10 Nov 1945.

(70) LDP 28 Apl 1945.

(71) PNEFC BM 1 June 1945, 22 June 1945.

(72) LDP 7 Sept 1945.

(73) LDP 7 Feb 1946, 9 Feb 1946.

(74) Football League Gate Books; annual entries for Preston North End FC 1946-52. I am most grateful to Gavin Mellor for introducing me to this valuable material.

(75) LDP 16 Dec 1953.

(76) PNEFC BM 10 Aug 1945, 27 Feb 1945.

(77) PNEFC BM 26 Feb 1946.
(78) PNEFC BM 8 May 1946.
(79) LDP 10 June 1946.
(80) LDP 19 Jan 1946. PNEFC BM 12 Mar 1946.
(81) LDP 30 Jan 1947. For local details of the 'freeze-up' see LDP 25 Feb, 28 Feb, 1 Mar, 6 Mar, 8 Mar 1947.
(82) LDP 26 Apl 1947.
(83) PNEFC BM 13 May 1947.
(84) PNEFC BM 6 Jan 1948.
(85) PNEFC BM 16 Mar 1948. His wage was £10 and £12.
(86) PNEFC BM 29 June 1948, 24 Aug 1948.
(87) (W. Scott Memoir No.30) LDP 24 Apl 1953.
(88) PNEFC BM 9 May 1939.
(89) PNEFC BM 14 Mar 1939, 21 Nov 1945, 24 Jan 1949.
(90) PNEFC BM 13 Mar 1946, 26 Mar 1946.
(91) There is a very voluminous literature on this dispute in the Board's Minutes 1947-50. See PNEFC BM 3 June 1947, 22 Mar 1949, 23 Aug 1949, 1 Nov 1949, 2 May 1950.

CHAPTER NINE
THE GLORY OF FINNEY

(1) Hunt (1992) P.249-59.
(2) Most of the historical work on Finney is based upon his own books: T. Finney (1953) **Football Round the World,** T. Finney (1958; with David Jack) **Finney on Football,** T. Finney (1982) **Tom Finney's Preston North End Scrapbook.** A superb photographic study of his career is provided by PNE Books (1998), **Sir Tom Finney: A Pictorial Tribute.** The best account is provided by Paul Agnew (1989) **Finney - A Football Legend.** Finney has also contributed to a number of oral history projects, of which the best is R. Taylor and A. Ward (1995) **Kicking and Screaming: An Oral History of Football in England.**
(3) Agnew (1989) P.16.
(4) Finney (1953) P.17.
(5) FM: PNEFC Scouting Ledger.
(6) PNEFC BM 23 Jan 1940.
(7) Berry & Allman (1982) P. 171.
(8) M. Eddleston & T. Delaney, 'Masters of Football' quoted in S. F. Kelly (1997) **A Game of Two Halves,** P.248-54. P. 250.
(9) Ibid P.249.
(10) Agnew (1989)P.250-266.
(11) Agnew (1989) P.157.
(12) PNEFC BM 10 May 1949.
(13) LEP 13 May 1949.
(14) Finney (1953) P.58. PNEFC BM 10 June 1949.
(15) Finney (1958) P.83-6.
(16) PNEFC BM 20 Sept 1949, 1 Nov 1949.
(17) PNEFC BM 6 Sept 1949, 1 Nov 1949, 8 Dec 1949, 10 Jan 1949.
(18) LEP 14 Dec 1949.
(19) LEP 17 Dec 1949.
(20) Ibid.
(21) PNEFC BM 15 Mar 1950.
(22) Finney (1965) P.86-88. Agnew (1989) P.51. Berry & Allman (1982) P.177-8.
(23) LEP 4 Feb 1950.
(24) LEP 29 Nov 1950.
(25) LEP 2 Dec 1950.
(26) Agnew (1989) P.52-4. Berry & Allman (1982) P.82-4.
(27) LEP 21 Apl 1951.
(28) LEP 23 Apl 1951.
(29) LEP 10 May 1951.
(30) PNEFC BM 7 Aug 1951. Will Scott received £600, Jimmy Milne £400.
(31) PNEFC BM 14 Aug 1951.
(32) PNEFC BM 6 Feb 1951, 20 Feb 1951, 20 Nov 1951.
(33) LEP 20 Nov 1951.
(34) PNEFC BM 20 May 1952, 11 June 1952. This account is based on Finney (1953) P.83-7. Agnew (1989) P.56-60. There is no reference in the minute books to a £50,000 fee.
(35) LEP 25 Apl 1953.
(36) Berry & Allman (1982) P.191.
(37) LEP 2 May 1953.
(38) LEP 1 Apl 1950.
(39) PNEFC BM 29 Oct 1952.
(40) LEP 16 Dec 1953.

(41) FM: Undated cutting (1953) PNE collection.
(42) PNEFC BM 9 May 1950, 4 July 1950, 31 Oct 1950, 10 Apl 1951, 4 Dec 1951, 14 Dec 1954, 31 Jan 1955, 8 June 1955.
(43) Breedon P.235-6, LEP 4 Apl 1953.
(44) Agnew (1989) P.154.
(45) Berry & Allman (1982) P.191-6, Agnew (1989) P.64-102. LEP 27 Mar 1954.
(46) LEP 30 Apl 1954.
(47) LEP 1 May 1954 (1st edition)
(48) LEP 1 May 1954 ('Last Football').
(49) LEP 3 May 1954.
(50) LEP 4 May 1954.
(51) PNEFC BM 27 July 1954.
(52) Breedon P.150. LEP 21 Aug 1954.
(53) Finney (1958) P.118-128.
(54) Agnew (1989) P.158-9,
PNEFC BM 21 Sept 1954.
(Beattie) PNEFC BM 10 May 1955.
(55) PNEFC BM 10 May 1955.
(56) LEP 30 June 1955.
(57) LEP 14 Dec 1955.
(58) LEP 10 Dec 1955.
(59) PNEFC BM 18 May 1956, 25 May 1956. LEP 18 Aug 1956.
(60) PNEFC BM 19 July 1956, 9 Aug 1956, 14 Aug 1956, 21 Aug 1956.
(61) PNEFC BM 28 Aug 1956.
(62) Agnew (1989) P.159-60.
(63) Breedon P.93. LEP 1 Sept 1956.
(64) PNEFC BM 28 Aug 1956, 3 Sept 1956.
(65) Agnew (1989) P.163.
(66) Quoted in Agnew (1989) P.165.
(67) LEP 4 Dec 1956.
(68) LEP 11 Dec 1957.
(69) PNEFC BM 6 May 1958, 13 May 1958.
(70) PNEFC BM 22 July 1958, 1 Aug 1958, 12 Aug 1958, 19 Aug 1958.
(71) Breedon P.93.
(72) Finney (1958) P.68-74; chapter seven is sub-headed 'Outside Left Is Not My Position'.
(73) PNEFC BM 23 Sept 1958.
(74) LEP 10 Dec 1958.
(75) PNEFC BM: (Kelly) 18 Mar 1957, 22 Apl 1957. (Spavin) 23 Sept 1958, 11 Aug 1959. (Thompson) 1 Dec 1959. (Ross and Wilson) 25 Apl 1960.
(76) LEP 16 Dec 1959.
(77) LEP 30 Apl 1959.
(78) PNEFC BM 14 June 1960.
(79) PNEFC BM 26 Jan 1960.
(80) PNEFC BM 23 June 1959.
(81) PNEFC BM 1 Mar 1960, 22 Mar 1960.
(82) PNEFC BM 25 Apl 1960; The exchange of letters is given in Agnew (1989) P.170-72.
(83) Berry & Allman (1982) P.204.
(84) The quotes on Finney's retirement are from the 'News Chronicle and Daily Despatch' 26 Apl 1960. 'Daily Express' 26 Apl 1960. LEP 26 Apl 1960. Leyland Museum: Harry Ashurst collection.
(85) In addition to the Quigley affair, and rumours of his transfers, the greatest of these surrounded the so-called 'Finney-Matthews controversy'. Agnew (1989.P.125-153), and D. Miller (1989) **Stanley Matthews: The Authorised Biography,** dutifully support their respective candidates, despite the protests of friendship from the two men themselves. For the final word from them both see the Staffordshire Sentinel (Stoke-on-Trent), 24 Feb 2000: 'Farewell Stanley Matthews' P.37. Half a century after these events, it is rather amazing just how much criticism Finney received as a player, not least from North Enders in the letters column of the LEP. Indeed in this respect he has a good claim to have been Preston's most frequently criticised player! Finney, of course, was twice voted the football writers' 'Player of the Year'.

CHAPTER TEN
THE BOYS OF '64

(1) Finney (1958) P.139.
(2) Tabner (1992). Football League Gate Books 1946-61.
(3) PNEFC LTD Annual Reports 1946-61.
(4) LEP 14 Dec 1960.
(5) PNEFC BM 27 Apl 1961.
(6) LEP 29 Apl 1961.

(7) LEP 2 Apl 1981.

(8) LEP 20 Dec 1961. PNEFC BM 15 Oct 1962.

(9) LEP 16 Oct 1962, 31 Jan 1964 (death), 5 Feb 1964 (funeral), 1 Feb 1964 (obituary: Pilkington).

(10) LRO. Probate register (1964).

(11) LEP 1 Feb 1964.

(12) PNEFC BM 13 Feb 1962, 6 Mar 1962. (On-going crisis) 10 Jan 1962.

(13) PNEFC BM 6 Mar 1962, 9 Oct 1962, 20 Nov 1962.

(14) PNEFC BM 20 Nov 1962.

(15) PNEFC BM 19 Mar 1963.

(16) PNEFC BM 30 July 1964.

(17) PNEFC BM 30 Dec 1963.

(18) LEP 24 Aug 1963.

(19) LEP 11 Dec 1963.

(20) PNEFC BM 16 Jan 1962, 14 Aug 1962, 20 Aug 1962, PNEFC LTD Annual Reports 1962-3.

(21) LEP 1 Feb 1964, 5 Feb 1964.

(22) LEP 17 Feb 1964.

(23) LEP 14 Mar 1964, 16 Mar 1964.

(24) Ibid.

(25) LEP 28 Apl 1964.

(26) LEP 29 Apl 1964, PNEFC BM 28 Apl 1964.

(27) LEP 2 May 1964.

(28) (Pilkington's account of the match) LEP 4 May 1964.

(29) LEP 4 May 1964.

(30) LEP 5 May 1964.

(31) (Cardiff City game) LEP 9 May 1966.

(32) LEP 31 Mar 1966.

(33) This analysis is based on the PNEFC LTD Annual Reports, 1960-71.

(34) PNEFC LTD Annual Report 1966.

(35) PNEFC BM 19 Oct 1965.

(36) LEP 15 Dec 1966.

(37) PNEFC BM 1 Nov 1966.

(38) PNEFC BM 8 Nov 1966.

(39) PNEFC BM 21 Feb 1967. For the £40,000 offer from Aston Villa ('Nowhere near our valuation') see PNEFC BM 11 Aug 1964.

(40) PNEFC BM 28 Feb 1967, 6 Mar 1967.

(41) PNEFC BM 14 Mar 1967.

(42) LEP 10 Mar 1967.

(43) LEP 20 Nov 1967. See also 13 Nov 1967.

(44) Breedon P.221.

(45) LEP 1 Dec 1967.

(46) LEP 14 Dec 1967.

(47) LEP 4 May 1968.

(48) LEP 18 Dec 1969.

(49) LEP 15 Apl 1970.

(50) LEP 17 Apl 1970, 18 Apl 1970.

(51) LEP 22 Apl 1970.

(52) 'Manchester Guardian' 20 Mar 1971.

(53) Ibid.

(54) PNEFC BM 28 July 1970.

(55) Ibid.

(56) PNEFC BM 15 Sept 1970.

(57) PNEFC BM 13 Oct 1970, 20 Oct 1970, 27 Oct 1970.

(58) PNEFC BM 2 Dec 1970, 12 Jan 1971.

(59) PNE Minutes 9 Dec 1970, 29 Dec 1970, 12 Jan 1971.

(60) LEP 20 Mar 1971.

(61) LEP 3 May 1971.

(62) PNEFC BM 17 Mar 1971.

(63) PNEFC BM (Natwest) 7 Sept 1971. (Lloyds Bank) 12 Oct 1971.

(64) PNEFC BM 30 Nov 1971, 7 Dec 1971, 15 Dec 1971. LEP 23 Feb 1972, 30 Dec 1972, 12 Feb 1973.

(65) PNEFC BM 11 Jan 1972, 18 Jan 1972. LEP 18 Nov 1972.

(66) PNEFC BM 14 Feb 1972.

(67) PNEFC BM 22 Aug 1972, 10 Oct 1972.

(68) (Crisis meeting: Finance Committee) PNEFC BM 7 Nov 1972, 12 Dec 1972, 30 Jan 1973.

(69) LEP 12 Feb 1973. The critique of the board's policy was developed in a series of articles in the LEP, 18 Nov 1972, 30 Dec 1972, 1 Jan 1973, culminating on 7 Mar 1973.

(70) PNEFC BM 11 Feb 1973, 12 Feb 1973.

(71) LEP 16 Dec 1971.

(72) LEP 24 Feb 1973.

CHAPTER 11
ONCE PROUD PRESTON

(1) LEP 5 May 1973; 6 May 1973.

(2) LEP 18 Nov 1972

(3) PNEFC LTD Share records; Share Ownership Ledger: Initial Transfers (Taylor) 15 Jan 1913, (Buck) 30 Sept 1930. See also the Register of Member's Holdings.

(4) LEP 7 Mar 1973.

(5) LEP 28 Feb 1973.

(6) Ibid.

(7) LEP 4 Apl 1973, 11 Apl 1973. PNEFC BM 3 Apl 1973, (the board's statement) 10 Apl 1973.

(8) LEP 12 Apl 1973, 13 Apl 1973, 16 Apl 1973, 17 Apl 1973.

(9) PNEFC BM 21 May 1973.

(10) PNEFC BM 30 Apl 1973.

(11) LEP 5 May 1973, 'Changes Bring Hope And Optimism'.

(12) LEP 5 Aug 1976. See also 10 Dec 1975, 18 Aug 1978, 31 Dec 1980.

(13) ARW Jones pers comm. PNEFC BM 3 May 1973.

(14) LEP 5 May 1973, 8 May 1973.

(15) LEP 3 Sept 1982.

(16) LEP 19 Mar 1974, 13 July 1982. PNEFC BM 20 Apl 1978, (Milne) 30 Dec 1982.

(17) PNEFC BM 31 May 1973.

(18) PNEFC BM 23 Jan 1974.

(19) LEP 11 May 1974.

(20) LEP 10 Dec 1974.

(21) LEP 14 Dec 1974.

(22) LEP 16 May 1975. It was thought that the offer would make it more likely that the club would be able to keep Tony Morley.

(23) 'Blackpool Evening Gazette' 13 May 1975.

(24) LEP 20 August 1975. PNEFC BM 21 Aug 1975. LEP 21 Aug 1975. The affair was covered by all the national press, television and radio. The North Enders beyond the seas heard it through the BBC World Service.

(25) LEP 22 Aug 1975, 3 Sept 1982.

(26) 'Blackpool Evening Gazette' 13 May 1975.

(27) LEP 9 Mar 1979.

(28) LEP 6 Sept 1975. (Stiles turns the job down) LEP 25 Aug 1975, 30 Aug 1975.

(29) LEP 10 Dec 1975.

(30) LEP 26 Mar 1976.

(31) LEP 5 Aug 1976. Trevor Hemmings' extra guarantee ended in September 1976, see PNEFC BM 23 Sept 1976.

(32) LEP 11 Dec 1976.

(33) PNEFC BM 11 Jan 1977. LEP 13 Jan 1977.

(34) 'The Observer' 3 Oct 1976. In December OPEC raised the price of crude oil by 150%.

(35) PNEFC BM 13 June 1977.

(36) LEP 22 July 1977. PNEFC BM 18 Aug 1977.

(37) LEP 13 Sept 1977. PNEFC LTD Annual Report 1977.

(38) 'Daily Mirror' 19 Aug 1977.

(39) LEP 8 Oct 1977.

(40) LEP 2 May 1978.

(41) PNEFC BM 27 June 1978. LEP 29 June 1978.

(42) LEP 23 Mar 1979, 24 Mar 1979, 21 June 1979, 23 June 1979. ARW Jones, K. Leeming pers comm.

(43) PNEFC LTD Annual Report 1978. LEP 3 Sept 1982.

(44) LEP 7 May 1981. For details of the board's severe 'budget' of 1980, reflecting the need for expensive safety work, see PNEFC BM 4 Sept 1980.

(45) PNEFC BM 20 Jan 1953, 8 Sept 1953, 29 Sept 1953, 13 Oct 1953.

(46) PNEFC BM 25 Sept 1962.

(47) PNEFC BM 29 Mar 1966, (£2,500 insurance claims) 6 Sept 1966. LEP 28 Mar 1966.

(48) LEP 10 June 1972. PNEFC (1972) Guild Club Brochure. BM 5 Aug 1981. PNEFC (1980) Executive Boxes Brochure. See also LEP 10 Mar 1985. The brochures are in Alan Jones's collection.

(49) (Fencing of the Kop and Town End) PNEFC BM 8 June 1978. (Appointment of board sub-committee) 12 July 1979.

(50) Inglis (1987) P.76.

(51) PNEFC LTD Annual Reports 1977-1980.

(52) Figures in this section are abstracted from the PNEFC LTD Annual Reports 1963-1980. The lottery now became an important element of board meetings, for example see PNEFC BM 17 Aug 1978, 3 Jan 1980.

(53) LEP 31 Dec 1980.

(54) LEP 18 Aug 1978, 29 Dec 1980,

30 Dec 1980.
(55) LEP 29 Dec 1980.
(56) LEP 13 Oct 1981.
(57) LEP 31 Dec 1980.
(58) LEP 5 June 1981.
(59) PNEFC BM 7 July 1981.
(60) T. Docherty (1981) **Call The Doc** P.189. LEP 26 June 1981.
(61) 'Daily Mail' 4 Dec 1981. LEP 4 Dec 1981.
(62) (Players) LEP 9 Dec 1981. PNEFC BM 8 Oct 1981.
(63) PNEFC BM 3 Dec 1981. ARW Jones, K. Leeming pers comm.
(64) LEP 9 Dec 1981.
(65) (Cuts) LEP 8 May 1982. (Scott) 25 June 1982. (Spavin) 14 Aug 1982, 14 Feb 1983. (Painting) 25 June 1982.
(66) LEP 3 Sept 1982, 6 Sept 1982. PNEFC BM 2 Sept 1982. K. Leeming pers comm.
(67) LEP 3 Sept 1982.
(68) LEP 6 Sept 1982, 25 Sept 1982.
(69) LEP 28 Nov 1982, 29 Nov 1982, 30 Nov 1982. For a discussion of the significance of the share issue see LEP 14 Feb 1983.
(70) PNEFC BM 29 Nov 1982. PNEFC LTD Share Register.
(71) LEP 9 May 1983.
(72) LEP 16 May 1983.
(73) LEP 23 Aug 1983, 6 Aug 1983.
(74) LEP 21 Dec 1983.

CHAPTER TWELVE
BATTLING THROUGH THE EIGHTIES

(1) LEP 9 Dec 1983.
(2) PNEFC BM 10 Dec 1983.
(3) LEP 30 Dec 1983.
(4) LEP 11 Jan 1984.
(5) PNEFC BM 10 Dec 1983, 16 Jan 1984.
(6) PNEFC BM 28 Jan 1984.
(7) LEP 2 Feb 1984.
(8) PNEFC BM 21 Feb 1983, 31 May 1983, 20 June 1983, 10 Oct 1983.
(9) PNEFC BM 25 Jan 1985.
(10) LEP 10 Dec 1983.
(11) LEP 6 July 1984.
(12) (Croft) LEP 22 Dec 1984; (Kelly) 28 Dec 1984; (Leeming) 19 Jan 1985.
(13) LEP 7 May 1985.
(14) LEP 13 May 1985.
(15) PNEFC BM 25 Sept 1984, 1 Nov 1985. LEP 29 Oct 1985.
(16) LEP 29 Oct 1985.
(17) LEP 5 Dec 1985.
(18) 'Daily Telegraph' 21 Dec 1985.
(19) (AGM) LEP 30 Dec 1985. PNEFC LTD Annual Report 1985.
(20) LEP 17 Mar 1986.
(21) LEP 22 Mar 1986, 24 Mar 1986.
(22) Ibid.
(23) PNEFC BM 7 Sept 1978, 7 Dec 1978, 4 Jan 1979.
(24) LEP 7 Feb 1984, 8 Feb 1984. PNEFC BM 7 Feb 1984.
(25) PNEFC BM 31 May 1983, 10 Oct 1983, 7 Nov 1983, 6 June 1984. (Payment made) 29 May 1984.
(26) LEP 3 Mar 1984.
(27) LEP 10 Feb 1984. PNEFC BM 23 Jan 1986, 16 Feb 1986.
(28) LEP 7 Feb 1984. PNEFC BM 23 Jan 1986, 16 Feb 1986.
(29) LEP 8 Feb 1984.
(30) LEP 21 Jan 1987.
(31) LEP 20 Aug 1984, 'A Club For The People'.
(32) 'Today' 8 Nov 1986.
(33) 'Sunday Express' 20 Nov 1988.
(34) LEP 16 Jan 1989. 21 Jan 1989. PNEFC BM 23 Jan 1989.
(35) PNEFC BM 27 May 1986.
(36) Breedon. J. McGrath
(37) PNEFC BM 3 May 1987.
(38) PNEFC LTD Annual Report (1987).
(39) PNEFC LTD Annual Report (1988).
(40) PNEFC BM 25 Nov 1987. LEP 20 Feb 1988.
(41) LEP 27 Feb 1989. North End led 3-0 after just 13 minutes. Brian Mooney is the subject of G. Willacy (2000) **Mooney, Mooney, the Man, the Magic and Preston on the Plastic.**
(42) LEP 23 Mar 1989.

(43) Ibid.
(44) LEP 12 May 1989.
(45) PNEFC LTD Annual Reports, 1988-1891.
(46) (Mooney) LEP 23 Oct 1989, (Ellis) 20 Dec 1989.
(47) PNEFC BM 21 Dec 1989.
(48) LEP 19 Jan 1990.
(49) LEP 5 Feb 1990.
(50) PNEFC BM 7 Feb 1990. The motion to sack the manager was defeated 5-2 with one abstention.
(51) PNEFC BM 14 Feb 1990.
(52) 'Daily Telegraph' 15 Feb 1990. LEP 15 Feb 1990
(53) Breedon. Les Chapman.
(54) LEP 7 May 1990.
(55) PNEFC LTD Annual Report 1991.
(56) LEP 5 Feb 1991.
(57) PNEFC LTD Annual Reports 1992-94.
(58) PNEFC BM 31 Jan 1991. PNE (H) BM 25 Nov 1985.
(59) PNEFC BM 23 Aug 1990. PNE (H) BM 28 July 1990, 14 Sept 1990.
(60) LEP 30 Nov 1991.
(61) PNEFC BM 18 Apl 1990.
(62) PNE (H) BM 28 Sept 1987, 12 Jan 1991.
(63) PNE (H) BM 6 Dec 1990.
(64) LEP 15 Jan 1991.
(65) LEP 9 Feb 1991.
(66) PNEFC BM 20 Mar 1991. See also PNE (H) BM (AGM) 18 Apl 1991.
(67) PNE (H) BM 5 May 1991.
(68) LEP 11 Mar 1992.
(69) PNEFC BM 15 Mar 1992.
(70) Ibid. PNEFC BM 22 Mar 1992.
(71) PNEFC BM 10 May 1992.
(72) PNEFC BM 28 Sept 1992.
(73) PNEFC BM 6 Dec 1992. LEP 6 Dec 1992.
(74) Breedon. J. Beck
(75) LEP 6 Dec 1992.
(76) 1994 Play-off Final, Official Programme, 28 May 1994 p.10.
(77) PNEFC BM 17 Nov 1993.
(78) LEP 26 Feb 1993.
(79) LEP 3 May 1993.
(80) LEP 10 May 1993, 'PNE Inquest'.
(81) 'Daily Telegraph' 11 Aug 1993.
(82) LEP 19 May 1994.
(83) LEP 23 May 1994.
(84) LEP 28 May 1994.
(85) LEP 30 May 1994, 'Only The Tears Flowed'.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

A NEW NORTH END?

(1) 'PNEFC: A View From The Terrace', in 'The Partner' (The Baxi Partnership in-house magazine) Issue 19, December 1994, P.18-19. Casey's subsequent quotes are also taken from this source, P.18.
(2) I am most grateful to Ben Casey and David Robinson for their attempts to instill in me the principles of suspension bridge construction, but in the interests of public safety the writer will not be diversifying into civil engineering.
(3) PNEFC BM 23 Aug 1990.
(4) H. Hammersley & D. Hunt (1998) **The Baxendale Tradition: A Short History of Richard Baxendale & Sons.**
(5) This account is based on interviews with Ben Casey, Bryan Gray and Laurence King. Dates are taken from Laurence King's diary.
(6) PNE (H) BM 22 Sept 1994.
(7) 'Baxi On The Ball' in 'The Partner' Issue 19, December 1994 P.12-17. P.17.
(8) Ibid. P.15.
(9) LEP 26 Sept 1994.
(10) Ibid.
(11) PNE (H) BM: 30 Nov 1994. Beck resigned two days later.
(12) LEP 26 Sept 1994.
(13) LEP 14 Oct 1994.
(14) PNE (H) BM 30 Nov 1994.
(15) LEP 3 Dec 1994.
(16) PNE (H) BM 20 Apl 1995.
(17) LEP 6 May 1996, Promotion Souvenir, P.2.
(18) Having seen nearly all of the home games, the writer was of course among those locked out.
(19) 'Preston Pie Muncher' Promotion Special issue, 4 May 1996, P.11.
(20) PNE (H) BM 21 Feb 1997.

(21) LEP 12 Jan 1998.

(22) Chairman's notes and subsequent account, Bryan Gray pers com. For the Gary Peters quote, see LEP 12 Jan 1998.

(23) Preston Borough Council (PBC). Comments on receipt of application, 8 Feb 1995.

(24) PBC. Report to Committee, 20 Apl 1995.

(25) LEP 27 Apl 1995.

(26) Frank Whittle Partnership (FWP). Contract Analysis, 26 June 1995. I am most grateful to David Robinson for giving me access to the partnership's 'Tom Finney Stand' files.

(27) FWP. Structural Engineer's Report, 1 Feb 1995.

(28) FWP. Letter, Sub-Surface Ltd, 5 Sept 1995.

(29) LEP 5 Nov 1997.

(30) Ibid: The Times 5 Nov 1997: FM 'The Football Museum Strategic Plan'. I am most grateful for access to Bryan Gray's list of key PNE dates.

(31) This account is based on Inglis (1998) P.23, 54-55. Quote P.55. See also LDP 25 Mar 1946.

(32) Inglis (1988) P. 186-7.

(33) D. Com (1997) **The Business of Football** P.239.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Preston North End PLC (1995): Share Offer Prospectus. Quote P. 17.

(36) PNE V. Mansfield Town matchday programme, 21 Oct 1995, P.29.

(37) PNE PLC BM 1 Dec 1995, 30 Aug 1996.

(38) PNE PLC BM 31 Oct 1996.

(39) PNE PLC Offering Memorandum, 13 Nov 1997. Like ref 35 this is a key document in the modern and future history of the club.

(40) PNEFC LTD Annual Reports 1994-5-6-7-8-9. I am most grateful for the advice of Tony Scholes, particularly in explaining the implications of the Bosman ruling in the context of lower division clubs.

(41) LEP 13 Jan 1998.

(42) PNE V. Plymouth Argyle matchday programme, 13 Jan 1996. P. 16.

(43) LEP 13 Jan 1998.

(44) PNE PLC BM 23 Feb 1998.

(45) LEP 4 Jan 1999.

(46) 1999 AGM; author's minute.

(47) 'Daily Telegraph' 31 Jan 2000.

(48) LEP 5 Apl 2000.

(49) Author's minute: discussed at length by A. Scholes at the 1998 & 1999 AGMs.

(50) 'The Times' 9 May 2000

(51) PNEFC Annual Report 1999. A. Scholes pers.com.

(52) LDP 26 June 1901.

(53) LDP 1 July 1903.

(54) LDP 29 June 1905.

(55) The club achieved this in the mid-1930's, but were less successful in the mid-1920's and the late-1950's.

(56) LEP 9 May 2000.

PRESTON
NORTH
END
FC

A PNE PUBLICATION

With unlimited access to club archives, minute books and personal interviews, author David Hunt has left no stone unturned in his quest to record not only the good times, but the bad times as well. From North End's earliest times as a cricket club to the more recent past under the Chairmanship of Bryan Gray, all episodes in the club's life are covered in fascinating detail.

David Hunt is not only an established local historian, this being his tenth book, he is also a life-long North End supporter. This combination has resulted in a compelling and entertaining history of Preston North End Football Club.

£20.00

ISBN 1-901966-00-3